



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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CONTENTS

6 July 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

'No Grounds for Complacency' on Security [Ponomarev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Jul]	1
General Chervov on 'Reasonable Sufficiency' [Bratislava PRAVDA 2 Jul]	2
Geneva Nuclear Test Talks With U.S. Described	3
Delegate on Talks	4
Dismantling of INF Missile Base Reported [IZVESTIYA 4 Jul]	5
Further on Missile Dispatch [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 5 Jul]	6
Soviet Inspectors Visit U.S. Bases in FRG	6
More on Petrovskiy Briefing on Disarmament Talks	6
IZVESTIYA on CW Experts Moscow Briefing [5 Jul]	7
Comparison of Ryzhkov Remarks on Treaty Jubilee [PRAVDA 1 Jul]	7

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Ryzhkov Addresses Prague CEMA Session	8
Converses With PPR's Messner	8
CEMA Standardization Group Meets in Mongolia [PRAVDA 5 Jul]	8
Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Moscow	9

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Foreign Ministry's Perfil'yev Briefs Reporters	10
Afghan-Cypriot Links Lauded	10
Balloon Adrift Over Sweden	10
Rogachev on PRC Talks, Cambodia, Pakistan [Paris LE FIGARO 1 Jul]	10
Petrovskiy on Foreign Policy 'Democratization'	11
Kashlev Comments on CSCE Talks, Completion	11
Shevardnadze Article on Deterrence Cited	12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Comment on Dangers of U.S. 'Shoot First' Policy	13
Deputy Defense Minister Akhromeyev Visits U.S.	13
Invited by Admiral Crowe	13
Seen Off by Lushev, Lobov [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	13
To Tour Military Facilities	13
U.S. Air Force Secretary Aldridge in Moscow [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Jul]	14
Supreme Presidium Sends Reagan 4 July Greetings [PRAVDA 4 Jul]	14
Envoy Matlock Holds Reception [PRAVDA 5 Jul]	14
Shultz Central America Tour Pursues 'Strong Arm'	14
U.S. Trying 'To Frustrate' ASEAN Plans	15
Carlucci Blocks Defense Contracts Payments	15
Report on U.S. Justice Department Cited	15

China

PRC Press Questions U.S. Presence in Gulf	16
Li Peng Comments on Population Reported	16

Northeast Asia

Yazov on Reduction of Land Troops in Asia	16
U.S.-Japan-S. Korea Military Exercises Planned	16
Paper Comments on Japanese Military Spending [<i>Kukhar in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 5 Jul</i>]	17
Kim Il-song Returns Home Via Khabarovsk [<i>Pyongyang KCNA</i>]	17
Thanks Soviet Leaders	18
Cooperation Plans With Mongolia 'Realistic' [<i>IZVESTIYA 4 Jul</i>]	18

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'Provocative' U.S.-Thai Exercises Viewed	19
Hanoi Reports CPSU Politburo Meeting in Moscow	19
Hawke Reaction to CPSU Conference Cited	19
Kamentsev, Delegation Visit Malaysia, Australia	19
Meet With Malaysian Officials	19
Further on Meetings [<i>IZVESTIYA 5 Jul</i>]	20
Arrive in Australia	20
Talk With Australian Leaders	20

Near East & South Asia

Further Reportage on Iranian Airbus Downing	21
U.S. 'Criminal Actions' Cited [<i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Jul</i>]	21
Reagan Says Incident 'Closed'	21
Iran on Security Council Meeting	22
ICAO 'Shocked' Over Downing	22
U.S. Responses Outlined [<i>IZVESTIYA 6 Jul</i>]	22
U.S. Tries To 'Justify' Action	23
Further Soviet Commentary on Airbus Downing	23
'Deliberate Crime' Committed [<i>Pogodin</i>]	23
'Implications' Analyzed [<i>Reshetnikov</i>]	24
'Menace' of U.S. Policy [<i>Biryukov</i>]	24
Comparisons to KAL Incident [<i>Nadashkevich</i>]	25
World 'Indignation' Noted [<i>Serikov</i>]	25
'Natural Consequence' of Policy [<i>Ivanov in IZVESTIYA 6 Jul</i>]	26
World Reactions Reviewed [<i>Goranskiy</i>]	26
More on 'World Today' Program [<i>Fesunenkov</i>]	27
Comments Broadcast to Iran [<i>Katanidze</i>]	27
Pogodin Commentary to Iran	28
'Sympathies' Conveyed to Iran	29
Comments to Asia-Pacific	29
Pogodin Comments Broadcast in Mandarin	30
Vasilyev Comments to Cuba	31
Pogodin Comments to Cuba	31
Afghan Rebel Opposition Intensifies Activities	31
Group Leaders Confer	31
Afghan Foreign Ministry Briefing	32
Afghan Army Successes Cited	32
Letter to UN on Violations	33
Perfilyev Denies City 'Flattened'	33
Foreign Advisers Involved	33
Gerasimov Discusses Situation	34

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia's Tigray, Eritrea Situation Viewed	34
Vasev on Angolan Talks, Relations With RSA	35
OAU's Traore on Peace in Southern Africa	36
S. Africa Settlement Needs U.S. 'Mediation' [<i>IZVESTIYA 3 Jul</i>]	36
Sofinskiy Appointed Ambassador to Burundi	36

East Europe

Hungary's MSZMP Leader Grosz Visits Moscow	37
Interviewed Before Arrival	37
Greeted by Ligachev, Medvedev	37
Rajnai, Stukalin at Airport [Budapest MTI]	38
Received by Gorbachev [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	38
Comments on Gorbachev Talks [Budapest]	39
'Brief Interview' on Meeting [Budapest Television]	40
Gorbachev Remarks Cited [Budapest MTI]	41
Gorbachev Speaks at Luncheon [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	41
Grosz Address at Banquet [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	43
Holds Moscow News Conference	45
Seen Off by Ligachev, Medvedev	46
Supreme Soviet Congratulates Hungary's Straub [PRAVDA 1 Jul]	46
Hungary's Defense Minister Arrives in USSR [Budapest MTI]	46
Gorbachev Greets LCY's Suvar on Election [PRAVDA 3 Jul]	46
LCY Delegation Arrives in Moscow, Meets Zaykov [Belgrade TANJUG]	47
Poland's Interest in Restructuring Examined	47
Paper Cited on Interview With Poland's Glemp [Warsaw PAP]	47
GDR Military Facility Replaced by Holiday Hotel	47

West Europe

Gorbachev To Visit Tampere, Finland in Oct [Helsinki]	48
FRG's Genscher Cited on CPSU Conference	48

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Troops Intervene in Yerevan Demonstrations 5 Jul	49
Stepanakert 'Swept by Walkouts'	49
Yerevan Airport Scene Described [IZVESTIYA 6 Jul]	49
Protests Disrupt Yerevan Airport [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	49
Other Activities Disrupted [Yerevan]	49
Troops 'Stormed' Demonstrators [Hamburg DPA]	50
Perfilyev on Airport Events	50
Armenian Cited on Deaths [AFP]	50
Government Denies Casualty Report [AFP]	50
Demonstrations Spreading [AFP]	51
Arutyunyan Cited on 13-15 Jun Demonstrations [MOSCOW NEWS No 26]	51
Azerbaijan's Tatliyev on Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis [MOSCOW NEWS No 26]	52
TV Report Views Life in Nagorno-Karabakh	53
Estonian Popular Front Figure on Program [Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 28 Jun]	61
Readers Appraise Nationalities Issues [SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 23 Jun]	63
Aviation Official on Hijackings, Countermeasures [TRUD 3 Jul]	65
'Hostile' Western Reporting on Perestroika	67
Resolution on Improving Health Services [PRAVDA 26 Jun]	68
Krasnodar Poll Reveals Attitudes on Perestroika	70
16 Hospitalized After Toxic Gas Discharge	70

Economic

Higher Proportion of Consumption Needed [IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]	71
Economist Aganbegyan Interviewed on Reform [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY 17 Jun]	72

Scientific

Phobos Probes To Be Launched 7, 12 Jul	73
Launch Times Noted	74
Leonov Discusses Mission	74
'Okean' Research Satellite Launched 5 Jul	74
Joint Aerospace Experiment Launched in Kursk	75

Military

Explosion at Military Unit in Khabarovsk	75
Lizichev on Restructuring in Armed Forces [<i>Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA 28 Jun</i>]	75

'No Grounds for Complacency' on Security

PM0507105388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Jul 88 Single Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "The Main Question of Our Time"]

[Text] The multitude of questions of our time which trouble both Soviet people and the entire world public include one which could with complete justification be described as the main one: Has it been possible to avert the danger of war in recent years? The answer to this question—a clear definite answer—was given indisputably from the high rostrum of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Three years of intense labor on the part of the Communist Party and the Soviet state lie behind this answer. In the mid-1980's, the world was approaching the danger line. It was on the edge of the abyss. The arms race was approaching the critical point. The shadow of all-destroying nuclear war loomed over mankind.

Who was to blame for this development of events? Imperialism. It was imperialism and the ruling circles in imperialist states in the grip of a mania for social revenge who created in effect a state of emergency around the Soviet Union and its allies. The Western military bloc headed by the United States behaved in a frankly aggressive manner toward socialism. The military threat became a constant factor for us and for all mankind.

This threat had to be diverted at all costs. In response to the gauntlet thrown down before the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world, military-strategic parity with the United States and the NATO bloc had to be secured. This was done and parity achieved at the cost of the greatest exertion of all our efforts. It became a reality and an important stabilizing factor.

But concentrating efforts on the military aspect of countering imperialism also had its negative consequences. The Soviet Union allowed itself to be drawn into the arms race. In response to the enemy's creation of particular new arms systems, the USSR immediately embarked on creating such systems of its own. The arms race had a negative effect on the country's socioeconomic development processes and enabled Western countries to brazenly play on the myth of the "Soviet military threat." At the same time, in connection with fundamental changes in the world, political possibilities opened up for ensuring security, reducing tension, and establishing mutual understanding between the peoples. For many years Soviet foreign policy did not take full advantage of these opportunities. A confrontational approach could sometimes be observed toward nonconfrontational situations, military-political responses were given instead of political responses, and excessive attention was paid to propagandist exercises.

All this brought our policy to deadlock. It was necessary to smash the logic of development to which the world had come through force of circumstance.

The Communist Party and its Central Committee took on this task. The CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and then the 27th party congress elaborated the new political thinking based on the concept of an interlinked and interdependent and, at the same time, integral world and the conclusion regarding the priority of general human values in our age. To put it simply, this means that the task of ensuring mankind's survival and protecting man against destruction in the conflagration of a nuclear war was determined as the basic primary task which put all other tasks in the shade.

The new political thinking gave a powerful boost to Soviet foreign policy and provided it with the requisite dynamism. This dynamism manifested itself in an approach to the entire spectrum of problems of international relations that was vastly different from the past and in a number of very major initiatives of a global character. They include the program for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, a system of all-embracing security, balance of interests, the "all-European home," the restructuring of relations in the Asia-Pacific region, defense sufficiency, nonoffensive doctrine, a reduction in the level of arms as a means of strengthening national and regional security, the recalling of troops and bases from foreign territories, confidence-building measures, international economic security, and the idea of directly incorporating the prestige of science in world politics.

The world community did not react unequivocally to all these initiatives. Many states still cannot accept the idea of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and the primacy of general human interests over narrow class or national interests. But the ideas put forward by the Soviet Union and our allies and friends are not simply pious wishes. They are already working. The USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Geneva agreements, the incipient withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan, and the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, marked by Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow have, above all, become major landmarks on the path of establishing a new era in the system of international relations.

The landmarks on the path covered in the last 3 years already enable us today to determine the main trends in world development in the 20-21st centuries. The characteristics of these trends were also given by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. I am referring, above all, to the gradual demilitarization and humanization of international relations. This, of course, does not mean that the numerous contradictions in the world will disappear and that universal balance of interests will be achieved. But it does mean that reason, knowledge, and moral norms will be the foundation for interstate and international relations.

Transforming this trend into a reality will lead to the safeguarding of states' security increasingly moving from the sphere of correlation of military potentials to the sphere of political collaboration and strict fulfillment of international commitments. The United Nations will play a very great role here. An all-embracing system of international security is to take shape through the boosting of the effectiveness of the United Nations.

All this is indisputably the case. But, at the same time, the ever-present threat to peace from imperialist militarism must not be forgotten. There are no grounds for complacency. Although the positive processes in the world arena are evident, there are still no guarantees of their irreversibility.

In his speech at the party conference, M.S. Gorbachev described the aspiration of certain circles to foist a social system, way of life, and policy on other countries from outside by any means, not to mention military means, as the dangerous armor of past years. But this aspiration is still very great. Prominent Western politicians and military men still continue to gird themselves in the armor of former years.

They include U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci. He has recently uttered many fine words about developing dialogue with the USSR and the progress achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations. At the same time, speaking recently in Washington at the National Press Club, he once again stated the "need to conduct dialogue with the USSR from a position of strength." He asserted that it was the unprecedented buildup in U.S. military might during President Reagan's term of office—on which more than \$2 trillion has been spent—that has enabled the administration to take up positions from which the United States can today respond in the appropriate manner to the real changes in USSR policy. In this connection, F. Carlucci once again advocated the strengthening of U.S. "deterrence forces" and the preservation within these forces of such a destabilizing arms system as sea-launched cruise missiles. Here are his exact words: "We cannot sacrifice arms systems which are needed for stable deterrence, such as the sea-launched cruise missiles, solely for the sake of the process of arms reduction or to make it easier to monitor agreements in this sphere."

It is simply amazing to hear all this, especially if you remember that Soviet-U.S. dialogue is also picking up speed in the military sphere. Meetings have already taken place between the USSR and U.S. defense ministers in Bern and Moscow. An official visit by F. Carlucci to the Soviet Union, which is to take place in August, is next. At the invitation of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, is departing for Washington. More and more business contacts are being established between lower-ranking representatives of the Soviet and U.S. armed forces.

All this, of course, can and should only be welcomed. For such contacts and meetings make it possible to see and find new opportunities to counter the policy of force on a broader political base than before. Nevertheless, nuclear threats still continue to exist. For, despite the progress made, talks have still not been completed on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, a treaty on a chemical weapons ban has not been finalized, and accord has not been reached on the cessation of nuclear tests.

The U.S. side was to blame for the fact that a final document failed to get adopted at the Third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. What in the draft of this document seemed seditious to U.S. representatives and to what did they object? They opposed the creation of UN naval forces, the provision on the banning of the militarization of space, and the idea of creating "peace zones" and nuclear-free zones, in particular, in the Near East.

It follows from this that, despite the will of almost the entire world community, Washington is continuing to strive to put weapons into space and is advocating the preservation of tension and the continuation of regional conflicts. All this just to obtain a position of strength and to continue confrontational policy.

The Soviet Union cannot fail to take all this into consideration. We do not deem it necessary to act according to the old method—the "tit for tat" method. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference stressed that the effectiveness of our defense building must henceforth be guaranteed by primarily qualitative parameters—with regard to equipment and military science and also the composition of the arms forces. Defense building must guarantee the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies in strict accordance with our defensive doctrine.

This is the answer which the Communist Party gives to the main question of our day: the question of preserving peace and consolidating both our security and international security.

General Chervov on 'Reasonable Sufficiency'

*AU0507110488 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 2 Jul 88 p 5*

[Article by USSR Colonel General Nikolay Chervov: "On the Military Doctrines of East and West; In the Interest of Strategic Stability"]

[Text] In the West, they continue to distort the essence of Soviet military doctrine. They ascribe an aggressive character to it. They assert that the principle of reasonable sufficiency in the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces has not been substantiated by facts thus far.

And what is the reality?

Let us recall, above all, the fact that the main thesis of our military doctrine is to prevent war. In this way the thesis on preventing war is, for the first time, an integral part of our military doctrine. Naturally, the Warsaw Pact's military activity has envisaged the struggle against war before. This has become the primary task now.

Why? Above all, because a nuclear war in a nuclear century would have catastrophic consequences for both sides. War can no longer be an instrument for achieving political objectives nowadays.

We would be glad if the NATO countries would also declare, just as we have done, that the objective of all their intentions and activity is not to permit war—be it nuclear or conventional war.

The most important characteristic of the Warsaw Pact doctrine is its defensive nature. This is demonstrated, first, by the fact that we have never linked our future with a military solution of international problems.

And second, the USSR will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. We are waiting for the United States and NATO to assume the same commitment.

We do not regard any nation as our enemy. We are prepared to build relations with all countries on the foundation of peaceful coexistence and of mutually taking interests and security into account.

When resolving defensive tasks, we proceed from the principle of retaliatory actions. All our defensive measures are aimed against the threat of war that the U.S. and NATO armed forces pose.

In the buildup of our military forces we adhere to the principle of reasonable sufficiency. What do we understand by this term? This is a state of the country's defense-capability and of its armed forces that ensures the reliable defense of the state (of an alliance of states) against aggression with the minimum of armed forces.

Defensive sufficiency presupposes:

—the mutual commitment that countries will not be the first to launch a war;

—maintaining an equilibrium in the combat structure and in the potential of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons;

—reducing armed forces and conventional weapons to the level at which neither of the sides, while ensuring a reliable defense, is able to launch offensive actions;

—harmonizing the structures of armed forces, groupings, and deployment with defensive tasks;

—strict monitoring of the reduction of armed forces and weapons, as well as the monitoring of the two countries' military actions.

Unilateral implementation of defensive sufficiency is practically impossible. Sufficiency is determined by the nature of the military threat. Therefore, the implementation of the principle of sufficiency is a mutual, bilateral process.

In our view, the U.S. and NATO effort to strengthen their security was not coordinated with other countries, but it is to their detriment, and we can see how they are ensuring their military superiority by continuing feverish arms buildup.

I will present some facts: The plans to "compensate" for the Pershing-2's and cruise missiles that have been eliminated (increasing the number of the F-111 aircraft, of cruise missiles to 1,400, enhancing the French and British nuclear potential); the non-assumption of the commitment that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons; the holding of extensive military exercises near the socialist countries' borders, which can be distinguished only with difficulty from the real deployment of troops for waging war.

The NATO concept of "nuclear intimidation" also has nothing in common with defense. No one has yet proved, and cannot prove, that if there were not any nuclear weapons, World War III would be inevitable.

Even though up to now World War III has not broken out, today no one can guarantee that this will not happen in the future and nuclear weapons will not be used, all the more so since the United States and NATO do not exclude the possibility of being the first to use them. Can we reconcile ourselves to any, even the tiniest, degree of probability of mankind's self-destruction?

The ongoing changes in the world elicit the need to expand the mutual understanding and cooperation between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO regarding military activity. In their everyday military activity, the Warsaw Pact countries definitely wish to abide by the doctrine and principle of defensive sufficiency. This is our contribution to the strengthening of international security.

Geneva Nuclear Test Talks With U.S. Described
LD0107184888 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT
1 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 1 TASS—The second round of Soviet-American full-scale stage-by-stage talks on questions connected with the problem of nuclear tests has ended here today.

In accordance with the understanding reached at the summit in Washington, during the second round the delegations were set the task of promptly conducting the

preparation in practice and ensuring the legal formulation of a joint verification experiment at the testing ranges of the sides with the aim of working out improved measures to verify the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests. It was held that these verification measures would be used to the extent to which they are applicable in the agreements on the further limitation of nuclear tests that could be worked out subsequently.

The main complexity of the task tackled at the talks was in its uniqueness—to permit representatives of the other side to work directly at nuclear testing ranges. It is natural that these circumstances and the need to ensure the possibly most successful conduct of the experiment required the solution of a whole set of technical, legal, organisational and other problems.

The agreement between the USSR and the United States on holding the joint verification experiment, worked out during the round and signed at the Moscow summit, became a code of agreed-upon provisions regulating the activity of the sides in connection with the joint verification experiment. Under the agreement the sides will conduct two nuclear explosions in pursuance of the joint verification experiment—one at the Nevada range in August of this year and the other at the Semipalatinsk range in September. The planned yield of each of these explosions is not less than 100 kilotons approaching 150 kilotons. Each side on the basis of reciprocity has the possibility of measure the yield of these blasts by using teleseismic and hydrodynamic methods of measuring yield. As to teleseismic methods, it was necessary to reach agreement on mutual procedures of obtaining trustworthy information and to exchange calibration data on earlier conducted explosions at Soviet and American ranges.

Such an exchange took place on June 28. As a result of the exchange the USSR and the United States fulfilled all their mutual obligations within the framework of the joint verification experiment related to the teleseismic method of verification at the stage of preparations for recording the blasts at the Semipalatinsk and Nevada testing ranges.

For the hydrodynamic method it was necessary to drill with high precision a measurement hole at each side, to reach agreement on the range of equipment and exchange geological data on the blast area. The measurement of the yield of the blast in the main hole at the testing sites of both sides obtained by means of hydrodynamic methods will be taken as the standard in the experiment.

The check in the course of an experiment of the two methods of verification that differ fundamentally in terms of complexity of implementation and cost will make it possible to draw objective conclusions about their applicability in the future verification mechanism.

The discussion and reaching of agreement on mutually acceptable solutions on the given questions passed on the whole in a constructive atmosphere and enabled the sides to start the practical implementation of the joint verification experiment already before the signing of the agreement itself. Thanks to this, preparatory work for hydrodynamic measurements at the sites are entering the concluding stage. The preparatory work for testing the teleseismic method has been completed.

Parallel to preparations for the joint verification experiment the talks centred on the elaboration of concrete accords on the content of the future measures to verify compliance with the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. With due account for the fact that as different from the 1974 treaty the coordination of improved verification measures for the 1976 treaty does not require waiting for the results of the joint verification experiment, the working out of a new protocol to this treaty became yet another priority of the second round. The sides succeeded in achieving considerable progress along this direction as well and on the whole they have reached agreement on the main provisions of this document. A real base has been created opening the road to the speediest conclusion of work on it already during the next round of negotiations.

In the course of the concluded round of talks the delegations had also commenced, as far as this was possible prior to the joint verification experiment, to study questions connected with the improved verification measures for the 1974 treaty.

The final reaching of agreement on the protocols to both treaties should be completed within the shortest period of time so that the sides could move on after this to the study at the talks of further more radical measures to limit the yield and number of nuclear tests, up to and including their total termination.

On the whole the second round passed in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere that ensured effective conditions for the search for and working out of mutually acceptable decisions.

Delegate on Talks

LD0607102288 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The second round of Soviet-American full-scale talks on the limitation and eventual discontinuation of nuclear tests that came to a close several days ago in Geneva was held in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere that created effective conditions for working out mutually acceptable decisions. Igor Palenikh, head of a Soviet delegation at the talks, has stated.

Addressing a press conference here today, he said that in accordance with an agreement reached during the Washington summit the task had been set before the delegations taking part in the second round to conclude in a short period of time a practical development of a joint verification experiment and ensure a legal foundation for it. The experiment is to be conducted at the test sites of the two sides with a view to working out improved measures of control over the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests.

The discussion and coordination of mutually acceptable solutions, the head of the Soviet delegation continued, permitted to start practical implementation of the joint verification experiment. At present preparatory work for hydrodynamic measures at test sites is entering a concluding stage, while preparatory work for the verification of the teleseismic method has been concluded.

According to Igor Palenykh, along with the preparation of the joint experiment the talks focused on the working out of concrete agreements on the content of future measures of control over the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. "A final coordination of protocols on both treaties should be concluded in the shortest possible time, so that the sides can pass over at the talks to further more radical measures for the limitation of the capacity and the number of nuclear tests", the head of the Soviet delegation said.

Dismantling of INF Missile Base Reported

PM0507141588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own Correspondent Yu. Balakirev article under the general heading "Obeying the Letter of the Treaty": "In the Soviet Union..."]

[Text] Maritime Kray--At the missile operating base near the Far Eastern station of Novosyoyevka, the OTR-22 combat missiles (SS-12 in U.S. terminology) are being dismantled and shipped to the destruction sites. This is being done under the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Officer V. Korshikov spread out a large plan, almost the size of the wall, which showed the location of the base's facilities. He calmly gave their coordinates: 44 degrees, 11 minutes, 59 seconds north, 133 degrees, 26 minutes, 05 seconds east. Until recently this information was classified a top state secret. But now the missile operating base in the Sikhote-Alin mountains is well known to our treaty partners. It is ready to receive the U.S. inspectors who will not only be given a copy of the plan but will also be able to view any facility capable of containing delivery systems, warheads, or missile stages.

We were walking along the concrete road warmed by the July sun toward the gray hangars. Through the wide open doors a special vehicle towed another missile canister and drove to the reloading area. Other khaki-colored containers stood waiting their turn. If the Americans want to check the dimensions or the number of stages, the lids will be removed. At my request, the soldiers adeptly removed the forward element of the missile where the warhead is to be attached. It is destined never to be brought into a state of combat readiness.

In the evening a missilemen's rally was held at the Novosyoyevka railroad station. They have kept a reliable watch in the remote Far East and are now fittingly carrying out the state's commitment. A brass band struck up as the first trainload of missile launchers departed. They will be taken uncovered right across the country to the site where they are due to be scrapped. In the space of 2 days in July, 14 missile launchers, 4 transporters, and 20 combat missiles—half the stipulated quantity—have been removed from the base. The U.S. side knows where the destruction sites are, and the movement of the transport can be verified from space. All the stations confirm the passage of each train carrying this awesome weaponry. Information is being sent continually to the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center in Moscow.

The next transport is now being put together. One after another the missile canisters weighing many tonnes are towed to the loading site at the base, and self-propelled cranes lift them in slings and transfer them to the platform of the powerful truck tractor. In the cabin of the crane, Talgat Mulayev, a Kazakh with gleaming white teeth, was performing the maneuver. I asked him: What are your thoughts as you send this ultramodern weaponry to be scrapped?

"My father had to fight—I think about him: What would he have said?" was his reply.

The father of warrant officer Viktor Boyko, chief of the combat missile guidance detachment, also fought and lived here, in the Maritime Kray, for a short time after the war—until his wounds took their toll.... Viktor's life has been bound up with the Army and with these missile subunits where he has experienced a lot. He has become used to his missile launchers the way a cavalryman gets used to his horse. But he understands and approves the supreme goals which dictated that a whole class of weapons should be destroyed. I asked: How do you picture your future after the base has been cleared of missiles? He answered:

"I am a top flight warrant officer. I could be commander of a maintenance platoon or a technician...."

The base command is prepared to show everything stipulated in the top-level accord.

We went to the hangars where the equipment unconnected with the missile system elements is stored. There they kept the trucks stored under canopies, the track layers, and the pit machines [kotlovannaya mashina]. Any equipment large enough to contain a missile warhead or delivery vehicle may be examined.

The base's territory is ringed on the horizon by the green mountains of Sikhote-Alin. Along the road which passes through the dense deciduous forest, the truck tractors are taking the missiles to the railroad. A train is leaving with 20 combat missiles. On 6 July it is planned to load 17 dummy missiles. In so doing, the terms of the Soviet-U.S. treaty will have been fulfilled in the Far East in a very short space of time. Only the words on the board near the entrance to the base will remain unchanged: "We are against the nuclear danger and the arms race and for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace."

Further on Missile Dispatch

PM0507141988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 4

[V. Fridyev dispatch: "Missiles Scrapped"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Novosyoyevka, Maritime Kray—The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles began to be implemented on 1 July. Our correspondent reports from the Novosyoyevka Missile Operating Base in Maritime Kray:

A telegram left for Moscow. There it was duplicated and sent off to comparable centers in Washington. It was announced that a train left Novosyoyevka station on 1 July at 2155 loaded with 14 launchers and 4 OTR-22 (SS-12 in U.S. terminology) missile transporter vehicles. Destination: Belorussia's Stankovo station. Another train also set off in the night carrying 20 missile delivery systems. It was going to Kazakhstan to Saryuzek station. The terrible equipment will be destroyed in these areas verified by U.S. inspectors.

The emerald swath of the summer taiga bubbles up among the spurs of the Sikhote-Alin. Suddenly beyond a bend in the road—a number of dilapidated houses, a high concrete wall, and an iron gate bearing red stars—the Novosyoyevka Operating Base. U.S. inspectors are waiting there now.

"We are ready for the meeting," Colonel V. Korshikov, the chief of the inspectors' escort group, said. "Admittedly the Americans will not find the missiles here: They have begun to be taken to the station."

"Throughout June," Major A. Kostitsyn, battery commander and also a member of the inspectors' escort group, said, "we prepared the equipment for dispatch. For it has to cross the entire country. We missilemen have complex feelings. Pride for our country, which has

for the first time in history found the strength and the boldness to agree to abandon an entire class of arms. And concern—our service and life are changing. It is now my dream to enter an academy. I am a professional soldier, and I believe that I can still prove useful to the motherland in that capacity. However, there is also a civilian specialism—engineer-mechanic. My greatest dream is for my children to live in peace."

Soviet Inspectors Visit U.S. Bases in FRG

LD0507215588 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 5 TASS—Two groups of Soviet military inspectors today visited U.S. military bases in Mutlangen and Wueschheim in the south of the FRG and conducted on-site inspection in accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Pershing-2 missiles are deployed in Mutlangen. Cruise missiles are deployed in Wueschheim. They are to be removed from the West German territory and destroyed as stipulated by the treaty on INF forces.

More on Petrovskiy Briefing on Disarmament Talks

LD0107122688 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 30 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, there was a news conference today devoted to the results of the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. Comrade Petrovskiy, deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the session and USSR deputy foreign minister, said:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] The third special session of the UN General Assembly ended with a statement by the session chairman, who described the session as an important event of international life promoting the concentrating of the attention of states and the public as a very important direction of efforts to improve the international situation and ensure security. [video shows news conference; Gerasimov also present] Unfortunately, it did not prove possible to adopt a final document on the basis of consensus—general agreement—even though the draft of this document was prepared by the chairman of the full committee after careful discussion by all the delegations.

But the results of the session, and I would like to lay special emphasis on this, by no means amount to just the absence of a document. The importance of the session lies in the fact that it had an unprecedented level of representation: 27 heads of state and government and about 70 foreign ministers. The session was, in essence, a laboratory of new thinking in the very important area of creating universal security and disarmament. The

main thing is, all the same, that despite all the complications, the process of renewing international life is a reality of our times. In the world community, the mood in favor of practical deeds and on complementing bilateral disarmament efforts with multilateral ones is becoming stronger. This inspires hope and confidence. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA on CW Experts Moscow Briefing
PM0507135788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "British Experts' Press Conference"]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jul—A news conference has been held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on the results of a visit to Soviet military installations by a group of British experts.

The British delegation headed by Ambassador T. Solesby, British representative at the Geneva disarmament conference, arrived in the Soviet Union on 29 June. This is a return visit following the May visit to a British military installation at Porton Down by a group of Soviet specialists.

"We see such exchanges as an important component in preparing as quickly as possible a convention on the complete and universal prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons and a practical means of building confidence among the participants in the Geneva talks," Colonel General V.K. Pikalov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry's Chemical Troops, said. Apart from the Shikhany military installation, the delegation visited on 30 June a chemical troops training center, where it was familiarized with the system for training junior chemical protection commanders.

At Shikhany on 1-3 July, the British delegation was acquainted in detail with the organization and main areas of the military installation's activity and the tasks it is resolving.

At Shikhany particular attention was devoted to examining questions which have still not been finally resolved at talks—in particular, possible methods of verifying the nondevelopment [nerazrabotka] and nonproduction of chemical weapons, as well as their destruction.

Speaking on behalf of the British delegation, Ambassador T. Solesby stated that the British Government attaches enormous importance to this exchange of visits within the context of the ongoing talks in Geneva on the prohibition of all chemical arms. Britain gave up chemical weapons production in the fifties. We should know more about each other in order to promote the building of confidence and the conclusion of an effective convention. Expressing gratitude to the Soviet institutions and

representatives who had organized the visit, she said that on its return to London, the delegation would brief the British Government to give it a balanced evaluation.

Yu.K. Nazarkin, USSR representative at the Geneva disarmament conference, noted that the British delegation's visit to Shikhany had been held on the eve of the resumption in Geneva of multilateral talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons within the framework of the disarmament conference.

Answering a question about the British side's attitude to the U.S. binary weapons program, Ambassador T. Solesby expressed understanding of the grounds for Washington's work on new types of weapons—namely, the need to modernize "obsolescent" arms in U.S. arsenals.

The Soviet participants in the press conference pointed out the complete groundlessness of the U.S. position.

Comparison of Ryzkhov Remarks on Treaty Jubilee

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 July carries in its Second Edition on page 12 a TASS report on Ryzkhov remarks on the 20th anniversary of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The PRAVDA report, under the headline "Answers of N.I. Ryzkhov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to a TASS Correspondent's Questions," has been compared with the TASS International Service version published in the 1 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 2-3, revealing the following variations:

Page 2:

Column one, paragraph one, line one reads in PRAVDA: "Question. 1 July 1988 marks the 20th anniversary of the opening of the nonproliferation treaty for signing.

"As everyone knows..." (rewording)

Column one, paragraph four, line two reads in PRAVDA: "...has put a powerful international-law barrier in the..." (adding "powerful")

Column two, line six from top of page reads in PRAVDA: "...very weapons act. And this at a time, when a large number of countries have reached a level of scientific and technical development that allows them to create a bomb whenever they..." (rewording)

Column two, paragraph five, line seven reads in PRAVDA: "...principles regarding nuclear exports, and the..." (deleting "arms")

Column two, paragraph five, line sixteen reads in PRAVDA: "...the respective rules regarding nuclear exports." (rewording)

Ryzhkov Addresses Prague CEMA Session

LD0507174388 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 5 TASS—"The purpose of this session, as we see it, is primarily to make a practical step towards developing socialist integration and improving our cooperation," Nikolay Ryzhkov has pointed out.

The member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers heads a Soviet delegation to the 44th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which opened in the Czechoslovak capital today.

The Soviet delegation's approach to these issues, he said, was determined by the results of the just ended 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference.

The CPSU Central Committee's report to the conference indicated that world socialism was living through a complex, crucial period.

Under these conditions, Ryzhkov observed, the Soviet Union gave priority to relations with the fraternal countries. "Together with the friends—on the bilateral and multilateral basis—and within the CMEA framework, we are pressing for the solution of key tasks of scientific and technological progress and mastering modern forms of economic cooperation."

The Soviet premier positively assessed the draft collective concept of the international socialist division of labour, submitted to the session, noting that it was time to introduce profound qualitative changes in the sphere of cooperation among the fraternal countries.

The development of market relations and direct ties called for new approaches to value, currency, credit and other tools of cooperation. "That is why we are embarking on restructuring the economic mechanism of socialist integration," he said.

The course towards the gradual establishment of a united market should in no way be regarded as evidence of the striving towards collective autarchy of the CMEA member countries, Ryzhkov said.

In the conditions of deepening interrelationship of all states, the socialist market would be built in interaction with the world economy, with due account for world market trends.

The Soviet leader stressed that there were reserves in economic cooperation between socialist and industrialised capitalist states, describing as "an obvious anachronism" the policy of restricting trade with the socialist countries and use of discriminatory regulations of all sorts that was pursued by leading capitalist nations.

He welcomed the establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the European Community.

Ryzhkov drew attention to the fact that deepening economic relations with the developing countries, where nearly four-fifths of the world population live, was acquiring growing importance.

"The Soviet delegation believes that the collective concept of the international socialist division of labour, submitted for consideration to the current CMEA session, meets the policy towards restructuring and renovating cooperation of the socialist countries, their active and dynamic participation in international economic relations, and it will vote for its adoption," Ryzhkov pointed out in conclusion.

Converses With PPR's Messner

LD0507212088 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 5 TASS—A conversation was held in Prague today between member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Zbigniew Messner, head of the delegation of the Polish People's Republic to the 44th sitting of the CMEA session.

A number of current and long-range questions of cooperation was discussed during the conversation in connection with a coming visit to Poland by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Zbigniew Messner said that this visit is regarded in Poland as an event of special importance for the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal countries.

The heads of the governments also exchanged opinions on the course of the CMEA session which reflects the resolve of the participating countries to enhance efficiency of cooperation and intensify processes of socialist economic integration.

CEMA Standardization Group Meets in Mongolia

PM0507113388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 4 Jul—The 64th session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Sphere of Standardization ended here today. Delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, as well as representatives from the CEMA Standardization Institute, took part in it.

The session examined the progress of the implementation of the cooperation plan in this sphere elaborated by the fraternal countries for the current 5-year plan (1986-1990) and a report on the scientific and technical level of CEMA standards. The plan for their development for next year and agreements on production specialization and cooperativization and other measures were ratified.

The commission ratified 274 CEMA standards for output from machine building, radioelectronics, chemistry, metallurgy, and electrical engineering. The activity of the commission's permanent and temporary working organs was examined.

Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Moscow

*LD0507151788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1430 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Delegations of the allied armies have arrived in Moscow for a routine session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee. The delegations are led

by the following defense ministers: Army General Dzhu-rov, of Bulgaria; Colonel General Karpati, of Hungary; Army General Kessler, of the GDR; Army General Siwicki, of Poland; Colonel General Milea, of Romania; and Army General Vaclavik, of the CSSR.

The delegations were met at the airport by Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; and other officials.

Today the delegations of the allied armies visited the Lenin Mausoleum and Lenin's apartment and study museum in the Kremlin. They laid a wreath at the mausoleum of the leader of the October Revolution. A wreath also was laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in the Kremlin wall.

The opening of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee session took place on the same day.

Foreign Ministry's Perflyev Briefs Reporters

Afghan-Cypriot Links Lauded

LD0607094788 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Vadim Perflyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has described the presentation of credentials by the ambassador of Afghanistan to the president of the Republic of Cyprus as evidence of a further expansion of international recognition of the Republic of Afghanistan and of the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the Afghan Government. Thus, he pointed out, the process of the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries has ended.

"The invariable stand of the Afghan Government on the Cyprus problems played an important part in it. All these factors taken together promoted the taking of a positive political decision by the Cyprus Administration. This is undoubtedly an important step both for Afghanistan and Cyprus", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

Balloon Adrift Over Sweden

LD0607105888 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—For technical reasons an unmanned Soviet balloon, that was launched on June 28, did not respond to the command to land and continued to drift to the west, it was announced by deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vadim Perflyev.

Speaking at a briefing here today, he said that on completing research the balloon was to have landed in the area of the city of Cheboksary on July 5. At present the balloon continues to drift at an altitude of 34 kilometres and a speed of 40 kilometres per hour.

"At around 10.30 Moscow time on July 6 the balloon left the USSR's air space in the area of the town of Liepaja. In connection with the set temporary programme, the mechanism of the balloon's self-liquidation is to be activated on July 6 at 21.00. It is estimated that at this moment the balloon might be over the territory of Sweden in an area within the triangle Gotland Island-Stockholm-Goteborg. According to the latest data the balloon's drift is shifting somewhat to the south", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The balloon has a polyethylene shell filled with hydrogen. It is 60 metres in diameter and has a volume of 180,000 cubic metres. The balloon has equipment that sustains flight altitude, radio guidance instruments to ensure its landing in a set area, equipment for self-liquidation and a magnetometer. Its total payload is 120

kilos. After the balloon's liquidation the payload is to reach land by parachute. The shell, weighing 600 kilos, will also descend like a parachute.

"There are no explosives or any other substances harmful to the health of man or to the environment in the balloon's suspension", Vadim Perflyev stressed. He said that on Tuesday evening the Soviet ambassador in Stockholm had informed the Swedish Foreign Ministry about this development. Similar information was conveyed to the Swedish Embassy in the USSR. Information was also conveyed through Soviet embassies to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Finland, Denmark, Norway and Britain.

Rogachev on PRC Talks, Cambodia, Pakistan

PM0607131088 Paris LE FIGARO in French
1 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev by Denis Legras in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [Legras] How do you explain the fact that the improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States has been much more rapid than the improvement in relations with China?

Rogachev: That is a difficult question. A great deal of distrust has built up during our 25-year dispute with China. We have cleared up many things since the 1985 plenum (when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power—LE FIGARO editorial note).... But it is not an easy task.

Are you going to ask me when there will be a "summit"? We think that such a "summit" could speed up the process of fully normalizing our bilateral relations.... We think that the time has come for this meeting at the highest level, and we are prepared to discuss all questions. We have met with the U.S. President four times in 3 years, and we have made great progress....

[Legras] Last year, you started new negotiations on your common borders. What progress has been made?

Rogachev: Since January a commission has been set up which meets alternately in Beijing and Moscow. We are at present taking aerial photographs of the eastern borders.... It must be remembered that this border is more than 4,300 km long.

We have achieved real success in this sphere.... We have achieved mutual understanding, and we are near the end. The third round of talks will take place in Moscow in October. We have made a great deal of progress and the attitude of the two sides is constructive....

[Legras] The Cambodian conflict is the essential obstacle to an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. What do you think of the "cocktail party" which will bring together the main protagonists in Jakarta at the end of the month?

Rogachev: We think that the Jakarta conference is a positive development. But there are innumerable ways of undermining it. This can be done in particular by saying that it is useless and ineffective...and I think that there are many insincere people.... We have started preliminary talks to try to reduce the areas of disagreement and to find areas of agreement.

The outcome depends largely on China.... I think that it has adopted a wait and see attitude for the time being. It is calling for a complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.... It is still skeptical about the statements by Hanoi and Phnom Penh on the withdrawal of 50 percent of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia before the end of the year....

[Legras] The Geneva agreement on Afghanistan was presented in Moscow as a model for settling other regional conflicts. Have the problems which you have encountered made you change your mind?

Rogachev: It is too soon to say that the mechanism is not working. We must fight to ensure that the Geneva agreements are respected. We have not changed our view that Afghanistan can be used as an example, although there are no two regional situations which are identical.... However, there are elements which can be transferred from one region of the world to another.

[Legras] The Soviet Union has frequently condemned Pakistan's "violations" of the Geneva agreements. Do you think that it is acting alone?

Rogachev: I think that Islamabad and Washington consult each other on all questions, and I doubt whether the Pakistani Government would do something without consulting its ally.

[Legras] Since Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok 2 years ago, what success has Soviet diplomacy had in Asia and the Pacific?

Rogachev: Mikhail Gorbachev said on Monday: "We have improved our relations with most countries and our relations have not deteriorated with any country.... I think that this applies perfectly to the Pacific. We have made progress wherever you look—with China, India, the ASEAN countries, Australia, New Zealand, and the small islands in the South Pacific.

Petrovskiy on Foreign Policy 'Democratization'
LD0107140088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2035 GMT 30 Jun 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] [Tsvetov] Hello, comrades. Among the foreign reaction to the work of the 19th all-union party conference, I would like to draw your attention to a statement by George Hewison, general secretary of the Canadian

Communist Party. He said that the truly revolutionary measures for the further all-round democratization of public life in the USSR are connected in the most direct way with actions to democratize Soviet foreign policy.

This also was the subject of a conversation between correspondent Sergey Rybin and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy.

[Begin recording] [Petrovskiy] I think that the democratization of international relations, of foreign policy, presupposes the presence of appropriate mechanisms in the socialist legal state [pravovoye gosudarstvo] that will make it possible broadly and actively to involve the whole of society, all the masses of the people, in all stages of shaping foreign policy. The democratization of international relations also has, I would say, an external aspect: It presupposes the restructuring of international relations on the basis of democracy. The most vivid manifestation of democratization would be the disbandment of the nuclear club, that is to say, the implementation of the program for the abolition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as long ago as 15 January 1986.

[Rybin] The question I would like to put to you is this: Is there not an illusion here? This has been spoken of in the report, and I would like to know your opinion.

[Petrovskiy] Well, in this case, as a practical person observing and taking part in the actual work of implementing foreign policy, I would say that naturally we see that the picture of international relations is complex and contradictory. The recently completed special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament has shown that the United States, for example, is not yet ready to participate in a civilized manner in international dialogue and the efforts of the world community. Nevertheless, if one singles out from all this contradictory mosaic the main link and the main area, I think we can assert with complete justification that the center is shifting toward the solution of problems by political means. I must say in this respect that a colossal influence is being exerted by the example of the Soviet Union, by our country's active participation in solving these problems by these particular means. There are two real and tangible recent actions that are having a particular effect in this direction: the accord on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, and the agreement on a political settlement in Afghanistan. These two accords actually lay the foundations of the main trend now emerging in international life, which can be described as a trend associated with providing security by political means through the efforts of all states. [end recording]

Kashlev Comments on CSCE Talks, Completion
LD0507205588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 5 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the Vienna meeting of representatives of the participating states of the CSCE, a plenary session has

been held to assess the state of affairs and the prospects for completing the meeting. Correspondent Mikheyev reports:

FRG Foreign Minister Genscher and French Foreign Minister Dumas have arrived to take part. [video shows Genscher, Dumas, other participants in the conference hall] They proposed to complete the Vienna meeting in the near future with substantial, well-balanced results. As is known, the Soviet Union has from the outset of the Vienna meeting spoken in favor of its dynamic work and, if possible, its speediest completion. This also applies to the consultations among 23 countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which are also being held here, aimed at working out a mandate for the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

How did the Vienna participants receive the appeal by the FRG and French foreign ministers? [video cuts to show Soviet delegation leader Yu.B. Kashlev, identified by caption)]

[Begin Kashlev recording] The Soviet delegation agrees with Foreign Ministers Genscher and Dumas, who have just spoken at the plenary session, that premises have already been created for concluding the Vienna meeting in the near future, and for beginning talks here in Vienna next autumn on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; for resuming the conference on security and confidence-building measures; and for embarking on the fulfillment of the program of pan-European measures in the fields of economy, trade, ecology, science, technology, and in the humanitarian field, which we have developed here for slightly more than a year. We have set out at the negotiations our proposals for holding a conference in Moscow on humanitarian cooperation. Interest in this keeps growing, and the prevailing mood favors the completion of the Vienna meeting with well-balanced and good results, although, of course, not all the NATO delegations are ready for this. Some engage in tactical skirmishing, such as presenting extremist proposals. Nevertheless, the premises in favor of ending the Vienna meeting successfully keep growing, influenced by our deeds and policies and other factors. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Article on Deterrence Cited

LD0507203288 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—The existence and preservation of such means of total destruction against which there is no protection are unacceptable for the USSR from the viewpoint of national security, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze writes in the latest issue of the journal INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Just as any other country, we would like to live in the most favourable international environment, the minister emphasized. This equally suits our own interests and the common interests, above all the interests of our allies and friends to whom we have political, juridical and moral obligations. The Soviet Union's main concern is the ensurance of peace, the maximum elimination of the risk of being involved in an armed conflict, and the maintenance of one's armed forces and military expenditures at the optimal level. The Soviet Union will not put in jeopardy its own security and the security of its friends. No one should have any doubts about that, Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized.

If nuclear weapons were really a means of deterring war, they would have deterred also the race of conventional armaments. In reality it was quite the opposite way. Realising that nuclear war should not be fought and cannot be won, the states were building up their conventional armaments proceeding from the view that a "conventional war" is quite permissible even with nuclear deterrence. The arms race that was on all these 40 odd years is not a theoretical but material confirmation of the fact that the nuclear weapon has not fulfilled and does not fulfill the functions of deterrence.

Security in a nuclear weapons free world can be ensured by means of agreements on arms reduction, by bringing the structure and deployment of armed forces in accordance with the requirements of a defensive doctrine and non-offensive strategy, strict and permanent control over the observance of commitments, the widening system of confidence-building measures in the military area, the openness of military activity, by institutions and mechanisms of the United Nations Organization.

It is precisely all this and not nuclear weapons that are real means of deterrence, a real guarantee of the security of our country and of universal security, a real barrier to an outbreak of war, the USSR foreign minister emphasized.

United States & Canada

Comment on Dangers of U.S. 'Shoot First' Policy *LD0607083488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Reports arriving from various countries testify to the fact that the volley of U.S. missiles which shot down the Iranian Airbus has evoked not only general outrage, but perhaps an equally widespread feeling of alarm which has spread far beyond the region.

Clearly manifest in the catastrophe of the unarmed passenger aircraft and the death of almost 300 entirely innocent people are the dangers of the policy of strength which, as is well known, is practised by the United States, and not in the Persian Gulf alone. We recall Grenada and Libya, Panama and Lebanon, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. In all of these hotspots of the planet, Washington has relied and relies on force and force alone. Seeking to play the role of world policeman, the United States is deploying its military bases and its naval vessels throughout the world.

Such a policy has not led to success. As far as Central America is concerned, for example, here Washington by its own admission has simply found itself in deadlock. Moreover, in a number of regions, including Central America and the Persian Gulf region, the U.S. policy of strength has not only complicated the settlement of local conflicts but has inflamed them even more. And from regional conflicts, from a local confrontation, global dangers are born.

Many Western observers are now writing about the enormous risk attached to a policy according to which you fire first and then express regret. In addition, it is becoming clear that the much-praised U.S. military technology is far from perfect either, if it is incapable of distinguishing a regular Airbus from a combat aircraft. And what would happen if such technology were to be activated not in naval battles alone, but in Star Wars also?

Out of all this, a fully justified conclusion is being drawn in the world: In our menacing age, military force has ceased to be a weapon of politics and a means for ensuring security. What are needed are new approaches and new thinking. In this context, I remind you that in the resolutions of our party conference published today, such new political thinking is approved, and it is asserted that only a political approach to resolving the contradictions of world development and to settling conflict situations can ensure the survival of humanity and its future progress.

Deputy Defense Minister Akhromeyev Visits U.S.

Invited by Admiral Crowe
*LD0507162388 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT
5 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of

the Soviet Armed Forces and first deputy defence minister of the USSR, left Moscow today on an official visit to Washington.

He has been invited by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe.

On the completion of the U.S. trip, Akhromeyev will pay an official friendly visit to Cuba at the invitation of its minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, General of the Army Raul Castro Ruz.

Seen Off by Lushev, Lobov
*PM0607112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Unattributed report: "Departure for Washington"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, left Moscow on 5 July on an official visit to Washington at the invitation of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

On the conclusion of his visit to the United States, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev will pay an official friendly visit to Cuba at the invitation of Army General Raul Castro Ruz, Cuban minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; and Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, and R. Mirabal, counselor at the Cuban Embassy in the USSR, were among the send-off party.

To Tour Military Facilities
*LD0507230688 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2250 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington, 6 Jul (TASS)—Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, arrived in the United States on Tuesday on an official visit at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces.

As well as having talks with Admiral W. Crowe and other officials, S.F. Akhromeyev will attend military exercises, visit the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt", and inspect several U.S. military facilities.

U.S. Air Force Secretary Aldridge in Moscow

PM0507144188 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jul 88 Single Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of the Air Force Edward C. Aldridge arrived in the Soviet Union on 3 July at the invitation of USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov.

E. Aldridge was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, and generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The reception party included J. Joyce, minister plenipotentiary at the U.S. Embassy in the USSR, and Brigade General E. Rokke, defense attache at the U.S. Embassy in the USSR.

Supreme Presidium Sends Reagan 4 July Greetings

PM0307155788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet message of greetings to President Reagan on Independence Day holiday]

[Text] To His Excellency Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America

On the occasion of the national holiday of the United States of America, Independence Day, please accept, Mr President, our congratulations and wishes for peace and prosperity for the American people.

The Soviet Union is deeply convinced of the need for further improving and developing relations between our countries, which is in accordance with the aspirations and fundamental interests of both the Soviet and U.S. people, and of other people as well.

The important and fruitful results of the summit meetings held in Washington and Moscow demonstrate that the USSR and the United States, despite their differences, can cooperate for the benefit of peace and international security. The implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the progress made in drafting an agreement on radical cuts in strategic offensive arsenals, and in other directions of limiting armaments and disarmament, demonstrate the possibilities of a constructive Soviet-U.S. dialogue, the continuation and intensification of which the whole world is awaiting.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Envoy Matlock Holds Reception

PM0507100888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Holiday"]

[Text] On 4 July J.F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, held a reception on the national holiday—Independence Day.

The reception was attended by V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Shultz Central America Tour Pursues 'Strong Arm'

LD0507165988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0430 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Now over to our correspondent in Central America, Yuriy Baranov:

[Baranov] U.S. Secretary of State Shultz had barely completed his 3-day tour of the Central American countries and still had not had a chance to report to the President on the results of his meetings—and he had plenty of them, from heads of state to the heads of the Nicaraguan contras—when the U.S. press began talking about the intention of the administration to resume military aid to the armed formations of the contras. They even indicate the extent—\$6-8 million. Then you have to add \$20-30 million in humanitarian aid already allocated recently by Congress. The names of the Republican senators and congressmen already engaged in drafting this "aid package," as it is now fashionable to say, are also given.

Local observers note that the propaganda machine has been put into motion, as it always has been, to get Americans accustomed to the idea that such a thing is not only quite possible but also necessary for the triumph of democracy and liberty in Nicaragua, and hence for the defense of the United States' vital interests in the region. For those who are not very convinced of this, a comforting version is being circulated in the same press media, saying that official White House spokesmen have declined to confirm these rumors but have given the assurance that if Congress does approve military aid for the contras, it will only be given from 30 September to the end of March or beginning of April 1989 at the most; that is, until the new administration comes into power. Be that as it may, the observers note, the visit of the secretary of state pursued an unconcealed aim: to draw allies in Central America into the quagmire of the anti-Nicaraguan adventure, and thus to predetermine the course of their successors in the White House for a strong-arm solution to the conflict in the region.

U.S. Trying 'To Frustrate' ASEAN Plans
*LD0207009588 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT
1 Jul 88*

[Text] Jakarta July 1 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrov reports:

Washington is stepping up its pressure on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to frustrate plans of this regional group to turn the region into a nuclear-free zone. This is how Jakarta understood a statement by Gaston Sigur, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, that the United States rejects, as before, ASEAN's proposal on establishing a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Southeast Asia.

Sigur claimed in a television interview with representatives of ASEAN member countries which was broadcast by the Worldnet system that the turning of Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone would not promote peace and stability in the region. Earlier, a similar statement on the Worldnet programme was made by Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons. This was resolutely rebuffed by the Indonesian Foreign Minister 'Ali Alatas.

The newspaper "JAKARTA POST" points out today that Sigur's statement coincided with final preparations for an annual conference of ASEAN foreign ministers to open in Bangkok the other day, where the parties are supposed to continue discussing measures on turning Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone. The newspaper points out that pronouncements by high-ranking State Department officials are at sharp variance with the statement by the Indonesian foreign minister on the ASEAN countries' determination to continue efforts on realizing the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the region.

Alatas said here last week that the association's members regard the establishment of such a zone in Southeast Asia as a component part of the concept of turning the region into a zone of peace and neutrality. The Indonesian foreign minister hailed the position of the USSR which backed ASEAN's idea.

Carlucci Blocks Defense Contracts Payments
*LD0207085588 Moscow TASS in English 0455 GMT
2 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 2 TASS—U.S. Defense Minister Frank Carlucci has ordered the discontinuation of payments by contracts signed by the Defense Department with contractors involved major scandal over bribery and corruption in the system of arms purchases of the Pentagon.

Addressing journalists Friday, he said that he had taken this decision after the Dallas federal district court submitted to the Defense Department a warrant for searching the premises of a number of companies and private consultants.

According to Carlucci, payments for the realization of nine programs in the system of arms manufacturing for the U.S. Navy were frozen. The U.S. defense minister pointed out that they were revising all the existing contracts with Litton Industries, Hazeltine, Emhart Corporation and Norden Systems with a view to finding out if they are involved in the corruption affair.

Lawrence Garret, U.S. under-secretary of the Navy, said that a total volume of the contracts by which the Pentagon had stopped payments amounted to one billion dollars.

Report on U.S. Justice Department Cited
*LD0307221188 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT
3 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 3 TASS—The U.S. Justice Department proves to be unable to cope with the problem of incessant scandals over fraud and bribery, mixed in which once and again are the Pentagon and the corporations of the military-industrial complex. This conclusion has been drawn by the authors of the report prepared by the General Accounting Office of the Congress.

The report examines the history of 680 cases in connection with the charges of bribery, corruption and other machinations. The very number of the cases covering the period from October 1983 to May 1987 is highly indicative. And it might seem that vigorous actions are necessary. Nevertheless, as the authors of the report have found out, the top officials of the department have no idea in many instances at what stage some or other investigation is. No action has been taken at all on 286 cases. It is not known, the report says, whether proceedings have been initiated on those cases or the pleas were rejected. Nobody at the Justice Department can definitely say how many lawyers were ordered to take up the cases of corruption in the Pentagon.

If a private company conducted its legal affairs the way the Justice Department does, it would have gone bust a year later, this telltale admission is contained in the statement. Senators William Proxmire and Charles Grassley, who presented a report on behalf of the General Accounting Office, describe the situation in that field as shocking.

Meanwhile, the information quoted by the authors is incomplete. No mention is made in the statement, in particular, of the current scandal, the biggest in the Pentagon's history, which broke out in mid-June. According to the estimates of the U.S. press, the scandal involves sums running into tens of billions of dollars. As far as the role of the Justice Department is concerned, as follows from the facts being exposed now, the point at issue was not ineffectiveness of action, or inability to cope with the problem, but direct attempts at preventing a public exposure of the machinations by the Pentagon's contractors. Thus, Robert Sigal, a Pentagon official, intended to send to Congress way back in 1985 data

concerning the current scandal. Yet the Justice Department announced Sigal's information as erroneous, misleading and provocative and did not let him read out his statement in Congress.

China

PRC Press Questions U.S. Presence in Gulf

LD0507081888 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 5 TASS—The presence of the American naval fleet leads only to exacerbation of the situation in the Persian Gulf and can hardly ensure peace there, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes today. Commenting on the mistaken attack by a U.S. vessel, which caused the death of innocent people, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China writes: "Peoples cannot help asking themselves a question: Does the American naval force ensure the freedom of civilian shipping in the Gulf or torpedo this freedom?"

Having expressed profound regret over the mid-air tragedy, the American Administration nevertheless justifies the missile attack describing it as "a proper defensive action", another Beijing newspaper, CHINA DAILY, notes. Of course, apologies alone will hardly be sufficient, especially to those killed aboard the Airbus and those who waited for them in vain. The peace-loving nations of the world, CHINA DAILY stresses, express the hope that all interested sides would reach an early agreement on ending the military conflict in the Persian Gulf area.

Li Peng Comments on Population Reported

LD0107123588 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT
1 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 1 TASS—The day of the three-billion population of Asia observed today in the People's Republic of China is aimed at calling once again the attention of broad world public circles to the demographic problems of Asia, the most densely populated continent in the world. According to specialists' forecasts, Asia's population will exceed a three-billion level at the end of the current year.

Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, stated here that most Asian countries faced two major problems, those of population and development. Speaking on national radio and television, the Chinese leader pointed out that despite a high pace of economic development, many Asian countries were still facing the problem of meeting the basic needs of their people.

China, the most densely populated developing country, is well aware of the difficulties that excessive population growth creates for its economic and social development,

Li Peng continued. Pointing out certain accomplishments in the implementation of the national family-planning policy, he emphasized that the problem was extremely complicated and could not be resolved in a short period of time. Li Peng said that considerable efforts had to be exerted for successfully fulfilling the main task—keeping the population of China on a level below 1.2 billion by the end of the current century. He devoted much attention in his speech to the problem of improving the qualitative composition and structure of the population.

Northeast Asia

Yazov on Reduction of Land Troops in Asia

LD0507144588 Moscow World Service in English
0700 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has said that his country intends to reduce its land troops in Asia. The Soviet Union has refrained from building up its Armed Forces in the region since 1985, he said in an interview for the Japanese news agency KYODO TSUSHIN. Moreover, last year it pulled out some of its troops stationed in Mongolia. The Soviet Union also plans to reduce its naval forces in the Pacific, if it succeeds in signing a treaty on strategic offensive weapons with the United States, the defense minister said.

U.S.-Japan-S. Korea Military Exercises Planned

LD0507112188 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Pyongyang July 5 TASS—Today's NODONG SINMUN newspaper describes the plans for the holding of U.S.-Japanese and U.S.-South Korean military exercises in the area of the Sea of Japan during the Olympic Games as an outrage on the ideals of peace and of the Olympic Movement and as a challenge to the consistent efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to ease tensions on the Korean peninsula.

The planned military exercises, writes the newspaper which is published in Pyongyang, are indicative of Washington's, Tokyo's and Seoul's desire to make use of the Olympic Games as a cover for their military goals.

NODONG SINMUN emphasizes that the hostility of these plans towards the DPRK is evidenced by the anti-communist campaign being fanned up in the West and in South Korea of late and by assertions as to an alleged 'threat of an attack against the South'.

The newspaper demanded that an end be put to military ventures which heighten tension on the peninsula.

Paper Comments on Japanese Military Spending
PM0507123188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 4

[Sergey Kukhar "Commentator's Opinion": "'Laurels' From the Pentagon"]

[Text] No, it is definitely the Pentagon's "laurels" which are giving the generals from Japan's National Defense Agency no rest. There is no other way of assessing the KYODO agency's report that "in 1990 at the latest Tokyo will inevitably reach third place in the world in terms of the size of its military expenditure." Indeed, it is perhaps not entirely appropriate to talk of "laurels," at any rate not now, but one cannot fail to be struck by how purposeful and persistent Japan's right-wing forces are in their zeal not to lag behind their "big brother" in militarist rivalry.

In actual fact, has official Tokyo long been flaunting its policy restricting the country's military expenditure to the confines of 1 percent of the GNP? Well, you cannot deny the right-wing forces patience either. Japan adhered for about 10 years to the "1 percent course" along which the then Japanese Prime Minister T. Miki led the country. But it was only Y. Nakasone, and then under the "screen" of his term in office, who nonetheless succeeded in driving a breach in the hated limit. And was that just the start of it?...

Even today people talk of the "Japanese miracle." Here it is naturally a case of industrial and economic "miracles." And although with the passage of time the glitter of the latter has begun to fade somewhat—very serious competitors in the shape of South Korea and Thailand have appeared near Japan—Japan's status as a highly developed economic power is universally recognized. Incidentally, it was Y. Nakasone who actively began to advocate enhancing the country's political prestige to accord with its economic might. Is this not the source of his successors' attempts—and highly successful attempts as we can see—to replace a constructive responsible policy with a militarist policy which can scarcely bring laurels to its authors?

Kim Il-song Returns Home Via Khabarovsk
SK0507154588 Pyongyang KCNA in English
1522 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Khabarovsk July 5 (KCNA)—The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, stayed in Khabarovsk, the Soviet Union, on his way home after concluding his official goodwill visit to the Mongolian People's Republic.

He arrived in Khabarovsk on the afternoon of July 4 by special train.

His suite members came with him.

Accompanying him were Comrade Aleksandr Mokanu, vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and other Soviet cadres who were conducting him from Naushki, a Soviet-Mongolian border railway station.

Khabarovsk was pervaded with a warm welcome atmosphere upon receiving Comrade Kim Il-song. A large crowd of people turned out on the railway station compound and plaza and along the route leading to the guest house.

Present at the railway station were Comrade Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who came from Moscow to greet Comrade Kim Il-song and the first secretary of the Khabarovsk Territorial Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Khabarovsk Territorial Soviet of People's Deputies, the commander of the Soviet Far East Military District, and leading officials of the party, power, administrative and economic organs and the Army in Khabarovsk territory, maritime territory, Irkutsk region, and Khabarovsk city.

Also present were members of the Korean Forestry Mission in the Soviet Union and the Korean Civil Aviation Mission in Khabarovsk and their families.

When the special train pulled in the compound of the railway station, the crowd warmly welcomed him.

Comrade Kim Il-song alighted from the train and exchanged greetings with Soviet cadres.

A Soviet child presented a bouquet of fragrant flowers to Comrade Kim Il-song.

He was also presented with a bouquet of fragrant flowers by a child of a member of the DPRK Civil Aviation Mission in Khabarovsk.

In the afternoon Comrade Kim Il-song met Comrade Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and other Soviet senior officials.

Comrade Vsevolod Murakhovskiy hosted a dinner in honor of Comrade Kim Il-song on the same day.

On the morning of July 5 Comrade Kim Il-song laid a basket of flowers before the bronze statue of Lenin in Khabarovsk and a wreath before the monument to the soldiers who fell in the Great Patriotic War and went round the city.

He had a cordial and friendly conversation with Comrade Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Aleksandr Mokanu, vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet of the USSR and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and other Soviet senior officials and arranged a luncheon for them.

The Khabarovsk Territorial Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Executive Committee of the Khabarovsk Territorial Soviet of People's Deputies presented a gift to Comrade Kim Il-song.

He left a gift here.

Earlier Comrade Kim Il-song had passed through Naushki, Ulan Ude and Chita, the Soviet Union, on his way home.

He was greeted and seen off at the railway stations he passed through by senior officials of the party and power bodies and the Army in the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Ulan Ude City and Chita region.

Thanks Soviet Leaders

LD0607101888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, has made a stopover in the Maritime Kray on his way from the Mongolian People's Republic. In the House of Soviet-Korean Friendship in Vladivostok he met with party and soviet leaders of the kray. The guest left for home today.

Kim Il-song sent a telegram to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. It says: I am expressing once more my deep gratitude to the Soviet comrades for the cordial welcome and attention extended to us during our travel through your country. I am convinced that the fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen in the future.

Cooperation Plans With Mongolia 'Realistic'

PM0507091988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Signing of Soviet-Mongolian Document"]

[Text] The signing of a prospectus on the development of foreign economic ties between the USSR and Mongolia for the period through 2005 was signed in the Kremlin on 2 July. The document was signed for the Soviet side by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and for the Mongolian side by D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, who was in Moscow en route for Prague where he is taking part in the work of the 44th CEMA session.

The prospectus in question, which is based on the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th MPRP Congress, gives a realistic evaluation of the present state of economic ties between the USSR and Mongolia. Closely linked with the collective prospectus for the international socialist division of labor for 1991-2005 which is being prepared by the CEMA members, it sets the long-term goals and tasks for the intensification of economic collaboration and the deepening of economic integration between the two countries. The prospectus indicates the basic guidelines for cooperation in the sphere of material production, science, and technology, the training of Mongolian cadres and the use of labor resources, the development of the nonproduction sphere, and the strengthening of the material base of social services.

After the signing of the document there was a friendly conversation between N.I. Ryzhkov and D. Sodnom. D. Sodnom expressed the Mongolian leadership's cordial congratulations on the successful conclusion of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was an event of historic significance in the Soviet Union's social life and in the fraternal countries' joint efforts to strengthen socialism and enhance its attractiveness throughout the world. It was stressed that Mongolia's Communists and working people cordially greet their Soviet friends' successes in the implementation of the CPSU's strategic course aimed at the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life, accelerating the USSR's socioeconomic development, strengthening peace, and improving the international situation.

N.I. Ryzhkov informed D. Sodnom about the main results of the work of the 19th all-union party conference, which began a new period in Soviet society's development on the basis of the broad democratization of all aspects of its life, the reform of the political system, and the implementation of the people's socialist self-management.

The heads of government exchanged information on topical questions of the two countries' domestic and foreign policies as well as on Soviet-Mongolian relations. Mutual satisfaction was expressed at the state of the fraternal cooperation between the USSR and Mongolia and note was made of the need to further improve it in the interests of successfully resolving the tasks of socioeconomic development and strengthening the indestructible alliance and friendship between the two socialist countries' peoples.

Present at the signing of the document were: for the Soviet side—Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to Mongolia; and for the Mongolian side—P. Jasray, deputy chairman of the

Mongolian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Mongolian State Planning Commission; and T. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'Provocative' U.S.-Thai Exercises Viewed

*LD0507095088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0830 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Large-scale joint U.S.-Thai military exercises under the codename of "Golden Cobra 88" are being held on the territory of Thailand. Here is our Southeast Asia correspondent Vladimir Beloshapko:

[Beloshapko] The scale of these exercises is indicated by the mere fact that around 15,000 Americans are taking part, together with the latest combat aircraft and ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet. The exercises cover a considerable part of Thailand's territory. What is the reason for such an impressive demonstration of force? The declared objective is to perfect combat operations on land, on water, and in the air in the event of armed invasion of Thailand.

Although Thailand's military spokesmen claim they have no intention of provoking any other state in the region, local observers note precisely the provocative nature of these war games. And with good reason, for real improvements have just begun to take shape in the political solution of the Cambodian problem and there is growing interest in making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality free of nuclear weapons. Nor can one put down to mere coincidence the fact that these exercises are taking place at the very time when a meeting of the ASEAN countries' foreign ministers is opening in Bangkok—a meeting with the improvement of the political climate in the region on its agenda.

Hanoi Reports CPSU Politburo Meeting in Moscow

*BK0607083888 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese
0500 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] According to the Soviet news agency TASS, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo met on 4 July in Moscow to examine some issues concerning the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Politburo pointed out that the all-union party conference has become a major event in the party's life and in the consistent implementation of party lines on the revolutionary renewal of the Soviet society, the consolidation of the theories and practices of restructuring, the realization of thorough economic reforms, and social democratization.

The Politburo deemed that it is necessary to convene a party Central Committee plenum in late July 1988 to discuss a number of issues concerning the practical application of the measures set forth in the documents of the all-union party conference and proposals and observations by delegates.

The Politburo issued a directive on preparing for submission to the plenum of suggestions about restructuring the political system and democratizing party, state, and social activities. It pointed out the need to come up with urgent and long-term supplementary measures for increasing production, improving grain and food supply to the people, boosting the production of consumer goods, and expanding services; examine specific proposals by delegates; do away with mistakes and shortcomings that arise in reality while effecting thorough economic reforms; devise measures for consolidating the building industry which is essential to the realization of social and production plans, especially in the countryside; review the situation regarding the organization of trade and services; restore order and eliminate belatedness in the supply of goods and services to the people; eliminate unnecessary queues; and establish order in the distribution of grain and other commodities.

Hawke Reaction to CPSU Conference Cited

*LD0407053588 Moscow TASS in English 0518 GMT
4 Jul 88*

[Text] Canberra July 4 TASS—Follows text of today's comments by Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke on the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU: The prime minister followed the conference with great interest. It was clearly an event of significant international import. The prime minister was impressed by the openness of the debate and the frankness of views expressed. This new approach is clearly the result of the style and influence of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. The prime minister is now especially looking forward to discussing the conference and other issues with Deputy Prime Minister Kamentsev tomorrow.

Kamentsev, Delegation Visit Malaysia, Australia

Meet With Malaysian Officials

*LD0507074888 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1440 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 4 Jul (TASS)—The Soviet delegation led by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, which is here on a visit, today held talks today with Abdul Ghafar bin Baba, deputy prime minister; Lim Keng Yaik, minister of primary industries; and Rafidah Aziz, minister of trade and industry.

Malaysia, the deputy head of the Malaysian cabinet stressed, "attaches great significance to the further development of bilateral relations." We are attentively following the changes under way in the Soviet Union and link new opportunities for expanding Soviet-Malaysian commercial and economic contacts with this. The Malaysian side, he said, is also striving to improve contacts in the scientific, technical and cultural spheres. The deputy

premier appraised the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit and the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan highly and noted the positive moves in the search for ways to settle the Cambodian problem.

On concluding the talks, Abdul Ghafar Baba and V.M. Kamentsev ratified an agreement on avoiding double taxation that was concluded during the official visit to the USSR by the prime minister of the federation of Malaysia, Mahathir bin Mohamed, last summer.

Today during the meetings in the ministries, the prospects for commercial and economic cooperation were discussed. As Lim Keng Yaik announced, the sides agreed in principle on creating a joint commission for this purpose. It will be set up on a working footing during meetings of experts. There was also an exchange of views with regard to opportunities for improving bilateral trade and equalizing it in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. "I am very happy with the results of the talks," the minister of primary industries told a TASS correspondent in an interview. "We now have a better knowledge of each other's opportunities and requirements. This will serve as a good basis for developing our commercial and economic contacts."

Further on Meetings

PM0507111988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Soviet delegation headed by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, which is visiting Malaysia, has held talks with Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba; Lim Keng Yaik, minister of primary industries; and Rafidah Aziz, minister of trade and industry.

At the end of the talks Ghafar Baba and V.M. Kamentsev ratified an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation, which was concluded during the official visit to the USSR last summer of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed.

Arrive in Australia

LD0507100288 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Canberra July 5 TASS—The Soviet governmental delegation led by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, today arrived in Australia on an official visit.

He will hold talks with Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade William Hayden, other ministers of the federal government,

prime ministers and ministers of New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia states, Australian businessmen. Matters of developing further commerce and economic cooperation between the two countries will be central to the agenda of the talks. The Soviet governmental delegation will also visit Sydney, Melbourne and Perth.

The Australian press emphasizes that the five-day visit by the Soviet governmental delegation is evidence of the importance which the Soviet Union attaches to boosting foreign trade and reaching an agreement on fishing with Australia. The newspaper SYDNEY MORNING HERALD points out that the Australian Government plans to use the visit to implement plans to expand commercial ties with the USSR.

Talk With Australian Leaders

LD0507116488 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Canberra July 5 TASS—Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is currently here on an official visit at the invitation of the Australian Government, was received by Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke today, and also had meetings with William Hayden, minister of foreign affairs and trade, Michael Duffy, minister for commercial negotiation matters, and John Kerin, minister of agriculture and energy.

The sides had a thorough exchange of opinions on a wide range of international issues, including the strengthening of security and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, and discussed in detail matters concerning bilateral relations.

Much attention during the meetings was devoted to matters concerning Soviet-Australian economic cooperation, with the two sides emphasizing their striving to give greater scope to it.

It was pointed out that the work done by the sides opened up wide opportunities for diversifying and improving the pattern of Soviet-Australian trade, and for placing it on a steady and long-term basis. Both sides expressed a desire to increase efforts to use advanced forms of cooperation—industrial co-production arrangements, the implementation of projects on a compensation basis, and trade in technologies and licences.

The promising nature of cooperation in such areas as peaceful uses of outer space, fisheries, sea shipping, and civil aviation was noted as well.

When visiting parliament Vladimir Kamentsev had a round-table meeting with a group of Australian officials and leading businessmen.

Near East & South Asia

Further Reportage on Iranian Airbus Downing

U.S. 'Criminal Actions' Cited

PM0507111188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jul 88 Single Edition p 4

[Article by V. Pustov: "Tragedy Over the Gulf; U.S. Navy Shoots Down Iranian Passenger Airliner"]

[Text] The world has witnessed a terrible tragedy played out not on a stage but in real life. On Sunday, 3 July, an Iranian A-300 passenger airliner flying from the city of Bandar-e 'Abbas to the Sheikdom of Dubayy (UAE) was shot down over the Persian Gulf. The IRNA news agency reports that Iranian rescuers have found fragments of the airliner and the bodies of more than 100 passengers in the Gulf waters. There were in total 298 people on board the Airbus, including 66 children.

The United States had to admit its guilt, although it did not do so immediately. At first the command of the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," deployed in the Persian Gulf, reported that, while repelling an attack by Iranian gunboats on a U.S. Navy helicopter, the cruiser used its weapons to shoot down an Iranian F-14 fighter which they said had approached "in a hostile manner." But the Iranian side stated that "no Iranian F-14 was in the air at the time of the incident." And soon forced admissions followed. First from Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Then President R. Reagan himself admitted that the Iranian passenger airliner was shot down over the Persian Gulf by two missiles from the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes."

Official attempts to somehow justify the irresponsible actions of the U.S. ship's command with unsubstantiated claims that the U.S. Navy had "taken defensive action" and had "opened fire to defend itself against possible attack" did not deceive anyone. Even many U.S. specialists and mass media did not believe them. "The Vincennes," ABC TV stresses, "is equipped with the most modern U.S. electronic apparatus designed to recognize airborne targets. According to specialists, it is difficult to understand how a passenger airliner could be mistaken for a fighter. Their images are very distinct on a radar screen."

"Profound regrets" are now being heard from Washington. One cannot fail to note how very belated they are. The tragedy over the Persian Gulf can in no way be regarded as purely accidental. The Soviet Union has repeatedly warned of the most dangerous consequences which could ensue from the continuing increase in the U.S. and other NATO countries' naval presence in the Persian Gulf. According to information in the U.S. press, the Americans alone have almost 30 warships, including

an aircraft carrier, in the Gulf and in the approaches to it on the pretext of "protecting shipping." This inevitably has led and is leading to the escalation of tension in the region.

The Soviet Union sees the implementation of a constructive initiative as a way out of the difficult situation which has been created. It has proposed withdrawing from the Persian Gulf naval forces which have nothing to do with that region. The setting up of a special UN naval force to ensure security in the Gulf has been suggested. This would be a concrete action, involving no threat to peace or stability in the region, which would move toward resolving the problem of protecting shipping. It would be an action to avert the danger of the internationalization of the continuing Iran-Iraq War, already in its 8th year.

But the entirely reasonable Soviet initiative did not receive a positive response in Washington or the capitals of the other leading NATO countries. Moreover, despite the tragedy in the skies over the Gulf, which has perturbed the world, in the words of the UPI news agency, "the administration is not planning any changes to its policy in the Persian Gulf." That policy is accurately described in THE WASHINGTON POST: "The aggressive military strategy initiated by former U.S. Secretary of the Navy Lehman," the newspaper notes, "created a situation in which not only has the possibility of serious clashes in international waters increased to an exceptional degree, but the danger that such clashes could escalate and develop into a nuclear conflict has also become greater."

The broad circles of the international community cannot fail to see this. The U.S. military's irresponsible, criminal actions in the Persian Gulf arouse angry indignation and decisive condemnation throughout the world.

Reagan Says Incident 'Closed'

LD0507212488 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 5 TASS—President Reagan said today that by downing the Iranian passenger plane the USA had executed its "inherent right of self-defence". The President's letter addressed to the leaders of the U.S. Congress says: "We regard this incident as closed". At the same time Reagan warned that "U.S. forces will remain prepared to take additional defensive action to protect our units and military personnel".

James Wright, one of the addressers of the letter and speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, called on the Reagan administration to offer apologies to the Iranian Government and pay out a compensation for the downed plane. The speaker said that Congress would back such actions and would appropriate funds for the compensation if the administration addresses it with an appropriate request.

Iran on Security Council Meeting

LD0507222588 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 5 TASS—Iran today made a request for an urgent convocation of the United Nations Security Council in connection with a tragedy in the Persian Gulf, the death of passengers on board an Iranian airliner shot down by the U.S. naval force. Acting Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations Mohammad Jafar Mahallati said at a news conference today that the United Nations Security Council should put an end to such premeditated attacks as a result of which innocent people perish.

The plane was issuing signals characteristic of a civilian airliner from the moment it took off to the moment it was hit by a missile and, naturally, a contemporary naval ship could not but pick up such signals. Therefore there are grounds to regard this tragedy as a premeditated attack, the Iranian representative said. Iran has of late informed the United Nations secretary-general more than once of cases when U.S. aircraft intercepted Iranian airliners in the area. And though the United States speaks of an error in order to camouflage this crime and notes that even the most up-to-date naval ship of the USA could not discern if it was a civilian airliner or not, there were no special difficulties about establishing this in reality, Mahallati said.

The Security Council should condemn this barbarous crime and demand the withdrawal from the Persian Gulf of U.S. naval ships which stage terroristic actions, he noted. This question is not related to the Iran-Iraq conflict directly, so it should be discussed separately, Mahallati said.

He described the shooting down of the airliner as an unprecedented terroristic act which caused the death of 290 passengers, among them 66 children and 50 women. This is a result of the United States aggressive policy in the Persian Gulf, of the illegal presence in the area of the U.S. naval force, which has led to the spread of the military conflict, killing of the civilian population, further attacks on merchant ships, Mahallati said.

Mahallati reported that he pointed today to the chairman of the United Nations Security Council the need to qualify this as a terroristic attack made out of military and political considerations and to take every possible measure to prevent in future such genocide against civilians.

ICAO 'Shocked' Over Downing

LD0507230388 Moscow TASS in English 2244 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 5 TASS—The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) is shocked at the shooting down on July 3, 1988 of an airbus of Iran-Air airlines

over the Strait of Hormuz and the perishing of its passengers and crew. This is said in a statement of the organization circulated at its headquarters in Montreal, Canada.

Expressing condolences to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the families of the dead, ICAO emphasized that its policy is aimed at ensuring safe and regular air transport, against the use of arms with regard to airliners.

The president of ICAO Council Assad Kotaite now holds consultations with members of the council about further actions with regard to the incident, the statement says. The consultations are held in reply to Iran's request for the holding of an extraordinary meeting of the Council.

U.S. Responses Outlined

PM0607110188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report under the rubric "Persian Gulf": "After the Tragedy"]

[Text] Rescue services are continuing work in the search for dead passengers from the Iranian A-300 Airbus. By the evening of 4 July, 180 of the airline passengers' bodies had been found in the Gulf waters.

According to a REUTER correspondent's report, Will Rogers, captain of the cruiser "Vincennes," who gave the order to shoot down the airliner, sent a message to the Pentagon in which he wrote: "What happened is a heavy burden which I will bear for the rest of my life. But I did what I had to do to protect the ship entrusted to me and its crew.... I and I alone take responsibility for what happened."

G. Crist, commander of the U.S. Naval Forces in the Persian Gulf, has ordered an official investigation into the circumstances of the event. A special group of Pentagon personnel led by Admiral W. Fogarty has already flown out to this region in any way. Incidentally, located in the Gulf.

Analyzing the current situation in the Gulf zone, U.S. foreign policy experts are united in the opinion that the tragedy of Flight 655 is bound to seriously complicate the situation in the region. Nonetheless, they consider it very unlikely that the administration will essentially change its policy in this region in any way. Incidentally, talking about this on his return from Camp David, President R. Reagan called what happened "an understandable accident." He promised to keep U.S. Navy forces in the Persian Gulf.

Both G. Bush and M. Dukakis, the main candidates for the U.S. presidency in the coming election in November, on the whole supported the explanation and the administration's position on this question. The vice president fully justified the actions of the "Vincennes" captain,

stressing that he "only did what he had to," and Dukakis in turn called on Iran to stop its threats against the United States and its Western allies.

U.S. Tries To 'Justify' Action

LD0607085488 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

On Tuesday, President Reagan made his third statement over the past two days in connection with the missile attack against an Iranian passenger airliner by the cruiser "Vincennes" which is among the U.S. naval squadron in the Persian Gulf. The message sent on Tuesday to the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president pro tempore of the Senate is an attempt to justify the actions by the commander of the cruiser by the need for "self-defence". The President noted that the U.S. force deployed in that region was further prepared to take actions for the defence of ships and personnel. All this, as President Reagan claimed, is done in the name of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf area.

The press conference given by a Pentagon spokesman on Tuesday was also aimed at attempting to justify the U.S. actions, which resulted in the death of almost 300 passengers and crew of the Iranian airliner. Yet he could not explain how with its most sophisticated equipment the cruiser could not tell a passenger airliner from a war plane and what was behind the discrepancy between the data of the tracking systems of the cruiser, a U.S. frigate, which was plying nearby, and the airport in the United Arab Emirates where the Iranian plane was heading. According to the version of the commander of the cruiser, he mistook the Iranian airliner for a hostile fighter aircraft, in particular because it was allegedly flying straight against the cruiser while descending and picking up speed. Yet the frigate and the airport had different information: The Iranian airliner began a speedy climb to reach the pre-set altitude of flight.

The spokesman for the Pentagon said that a special commission of the U.S. Defence Department had left for the area of the incident to investigate all of its circumstances. He also said that apparently the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) would carry out an independent investigation and the USA would welcome that.

Prominent public figure Jesse Jackson, a Democratic Party presidential hopeful, expressed conviction that the missile attack against the passenger airliner was neither a technical nor a computer blunder, but a political blunder. A number of congressmen also expressed alarm in connection with the incident. Thus Senator Dale Bumpers stressed that this should have been expected and if the USA does not revise its Persian Gulf tragedy,

the senator said in a CBS television interview, makes it necessary that the USA re-examine its policy. Yet most of the congressmen prefer a stance of "restraint."

Further Soviet Commentary on Airbus Downing

'Deliberate Crime' Committed

LD0507122588 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Here is a comment by Aleksandr Pogodin about the situation created by the tragedy last Sunday, the destruction by the United States Navy of an Iranian airliner over the Persian Gulf. This is what the commentator writes:

I'm personally struck most of all by the fact that there are clear indications the United States does not intend to assess the tragedy in realistic terms and draw the necessary conclusions. After expressing condolences, President Reagan fully backed the action of the military in the Persian Gulf and the military had reason to believe, allegedly, that the Iranian plane was going to attack the cruiser "Vincennes". President Reagan said that was quite an understandable incident.

I'm convinced a crime has been committed, a deliberate crime. Washington declared officially the captain of the cruiser was acting strictly in keeping with the instructions, and these amount to opening fire each time there is suspicion of danger the enemy may attack. For those who issued such orders and for the men who acted in keeping with them, it's absolutely unimportant whether a military aircraft or an Airbus is involved making a regular flight along a regular route. I may note that with the high level of electronics American naval ships are equipped with, it is simply impossible to confuse such different types of planes. I'd like to emphasize that the crime committed is a direct follow-up of Washington's line in the Persian Gulf area to use strength and to build up tension.

The Soviet Union, a TASS statement says, has warned on many occasions that the path of military actions is the wrong one. It cannot bring a normalization of the situation. Were these warnings heeded, there would have been no such tragedy last Sunday. The tragedy is another indication that the United States naval vessels in the Gulf must leave the region. There are all the possibilities for peace and security there to be ensured on a new basis in quality by a United Nations naval force. Unfortunately, I must note that so far there is no sign that Washington is willing to heed the voice of reason. On the contrary, America does not want any change in its policy in the Persian Gulf and that means that such actually deliberate tragedies can occur again.

'Implications' Analyzed

LD0507152988 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 5 Jul 88

[From the "Review of World Developments" program, with Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Text] [Announcer] A United States Navy cruiser Sunday downed an Iranian jetliner in the southern Gulf, killing nearly 300 people aboard. Most of the world's governments have condemned the action. Meanwhile, American officials have acknowledged that the downing was a tragic mistake. What are the implications of this latest accident in the Gulf?

[Reshetnikov] Well, first of all, this accident is something that could have happened at any moment, given the high tensions in that area. The chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff said on Sunday that such an accident was waiting to happen. It seems inconceivable how an American warship, equipped with the most sophisticated radar technology, could have mistaken a civilian jumbo jet for an Iranian fighter plane. It's like mistaking an elephant for a mouse. However, with all the modern machinery of war amassed in the Gulf, it is hard to see how such an accident could have been prevented in fact. The United States has assembled a huge naval armada in the area, under the pretext of protecting shipping. It has repeatedly entered into clashes with Iranian forces. Rather than defusing the tense situation caused by the ongoing Iran-Iraq War, the Western fleets have aggravated tensions in the Gulf.

[Announcer] What is the Soviet Union's idea for a peaceful solution in the Gulf? How does it see the situation being defused?

[Reshetnikov] Obviously the root cause of the current tensions is the ongoing Iran-Iraq War, which threatens to involve other countries. For all practical purposes, the United States, whether it wishes or not, is currently in a state of war with Iran, a de facto state of war. The world community has been (?urging the need) to bring the war to an end. Pressure must be brought to bear on the belligerents to end their hostilities. One way to defuse the situation, in keeping with the longstanding Soviet position, is to withdraw the naval forces from the Gulf and while the conflict is still under way, it might be necessary to replace those naval forces with an international force to protect shipping there. This idea, however, has fallen on deaf ears with those involved, and it is not likely to be accepted any time soon.

[Announcer] Meanwhile the latest accident in the Gulf, observers believe, will further call into question Washington's aims in the area. What's precisely to be reviewed?

[Reshetnikov] The downing of the Iranian jetliner undoubtedly has added weight to the argument that Washington has committed a serious error in becoming

involved militarily by escorting civilian tankers through the unstable region. According to one analyst, the United States should reassess its Gulf policy towards reducing the size of its fleet there. Otherwise we're asking for trouble, said (James Donovan), an official with the Center for Defense Information, a private organization which monitors U.S. military activities. (Donovan) predicted an overall review of the U.S. military commitment overseas. Our whole national strategy should be reviewed. What is worth risking American lives for? And in the case of the latest Gulf tragedy, I might add, what is worth risking innocent human lives for?

'Menace' of U.S. Policy

LD0507142588 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

The tragic crash of an Iranian civilian airliner caused by a missile fired at it from aboard a ship of the U.S. naval armada amassed in the Persian Gulf has called for one more time the attention of the world public to the menace which Washington's so-called muscular policy is fraught with.

For how many times Washington officials were warned at various forums, meetings and talks that the methods of power pressure and direct military actions are not only counter-productive but also lead to consequences whose outcome is unpredictable. But American strategists are immune to persuasions. What works is the Pentagon psychology of hitting an archer sooner than he used his arrows. It worked this time too, terminating the lives of almost 300 innocent citizens of Iran and other countries.

Certainly, in Washington they are on the look out for justification now, without changing the credo of the muscular policy. The matter amounts to queer things. The U.S. CBS Television Network reported about the supposition in the U.S. Government that the scheduled flight of the Iranian Airbus was something of a "kamikaze attack". It would be, as the saying goes, funny if it were not so sorrowfully, bitterly and alarming.

And if one is to be serious? Jesse Jackson, a prominent American politician, said that this was not a technical error or a computer error (what is also put forward as one of the justifications), this was a mistake of the United States' policy.

Senator Dale Bumpers holds that the U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf has never been good. He said this incident could be predicted and if the United States policy remains the same, we will witness other similar incidents. The scope of this tragedy calls for us to revise this policy, he said.

"Whatever the truth about the specific circumstances in which the U.S. Navy shot down an Iranian airliner on Sunday, it can also serve to bring out the dangerous consistency of U.S. policy in the Gulf...", the London GUARDIAN writes.

Is it only in this region? And what about the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, Central America or the Far East where the U.S. Navy and Air Force annually stage an imitation of a military clash that is turned into a clear violation of Soviet borders, the USSR's laws and regulations concerning the Soviet territorial waters regime, which is fraught with most serious consequences for peace and security in that region and in the world as a whole.

Washington's neo-globalist policy, which relies on the U.S. massive naval and military presence in various regions (almost 1,600 bases and facilities and more than half a million servicemen stationed at them), harbours new tragedies for mankind. This is the reason why the world community presses even more persistently for banishing foreign military presence and foreign military bases at other people's territories, which the last U.N. General Assembly's special session on disarmament has also graphically demonstrated.

As for the situation in the Persian Gulf, the conclusion which can be drawn from the tragedy that occurred there can be only one: The U.S. Navy should leave that region without delay. There are all opportunities for peace and security in the Gulf to be ensured on a qualitatively new basis that corresponds to the demand of our day—by the United Nations naval forces.

Comparisons to KAL Incident

LD0507205788 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—TASS commentator Vladimir Nadashkevich writes:

Giving explanations these days about the destruction of an Iranian airliner over the Persian Gulf, representatives of the U.S. Administration and President Ronald Reagan himself try to make comparisons with the South Korean "Boeing" airliner shot down in 1983. These comparisons have the purpose of distracting the attention from the criminal action of the U.S. Navy and they hardly hold water. Specialists of various countries then irrefutably proved that the South Korean airliner performed intelligence functions, which precisely prompted the Soviet Union's measures.

Much interest was evoked in this connection by the book of Japanese publicist Akio Takahashi "The President's Crime," about the circumstances of the provocative invasion of the Soviet airspace. It took the publicist a year to collect materials and facts about the flight of the South Korean airliner. Most of the documents collected in the book have not been reflected on the pages of the

bourgeois press which claims objectivity. These documents include testimonies by competent Japanese aviation specialists. They flatly rejected the version of the Boeing's inadvertently veering into the Soviet airspace. The book also contains open letters from the bereaved Japanese families to the President of the United States.

The documents collected by the author show convincingly that the Japanese command had been posted of the action. All the information about the airliner's flight received by radars of the Japanese Armed Forces was immediately relayed to the U.S. command. At the final stage of the provocation the possible reaction from the USSR was anticipated and more than 70 Japanese fighter-interceptors were alerted and naval ships were sent urgently to the open sea. The book quotes Japanese member of parliament H. Shue as saying that it is apparent that the South Korean airliner's flight over important areas of the Soviet Union at nighttime had a deliberate nature.

It is said in one of the open letters to President Reagan that for two hours and a half a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft RC-135 full of most up-to-date electronic equipment and the U.S. tracking stations on the Shemya Island and other stations observed the airliner which considerably veered off course. Not a single warning signal has been issued by the USA over this period of time. And what was the reason? It was far more important for the United States to obtain intelligence data about the Soviet Armed Forces than to save the lives of more than 200 passengers. It is absolutely obvious to us that the plane deliberately invaded the Soviet airspace for intelligence purposes, state members of the families of the deceased Japanese passengers.

World 'Indignation' Noted

LD0507225388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Serikov commentary from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The action of the U.S. Navy in the Gulf which led to the deaths of the passengers of the Iranian airliner has given rise to indignation throughout the world. Over to commentator Aleksandr Serikov:

[Serikov] Hello, comrades! This subject is likely to stay on the front pages of newspapers and in the television news bulletins for a long time yet. That is natural, for the incident over the Straits of Hormuz is already referred to as the crime of the century.

Meanwhile, the U.S. President termed as justified the actions of those who ordered the launch of two surface-to-air missiles at a helpless civilian liner of the Iranian company. Allegedly, they had to defend themselves. But it appears that it is the dubious professionalism of the military, who confused the bulky Airbus for a small

fighter jet that is being justified. Finally, it is the right to commit brigandage where it pleases them, in places usurped by the U.S. military, that is being justified.

The tense situation in the Gulf has lasted for a number of years. It constantly threatened to lead to something along the lines of what happened on Sunday. The United States believed and still believes that protection of oil tankers by U.S. naval ships is the answer to many of the Gulf's problems. But many governments have been long pointing out the peril of such a way of releasing tensions. In particular, the belief was expressed that only through withdrawing all foreign naval ships could the situation be defused. And now, the irreparable has happened.

Something else found its expression in the act as well: the feeling that anything is permitted, which borders on contempt for all that is not American. You remember that even a whole country, Grenada, was seized by the United States on pretext of rescuing their fellow countrymen. So it appears that their humanism is selective, only for their own kind. And what about others, what about the lives of the 298 passengers and the pilots, the Arabs, Europeans, and Indians? And after this, what are all those condolences worth, no matter how somberly pronounced by U.S. officials? And is it possible to alleviate the rightful indignation of the victims with justifications, even if they are of the most sophisticated kind?

The British FINANCIAL TIMES believes that the tragedy will aggravate the situation in the region and will make the prospect of a peaceful settlement more remote. The actions of the U.S. military that led to the tragedy cause indignation among many state and public figures alike, including in the United States itself. Black public activist Jesse Jackson, for example, referred to the policies of the present Republican administration in the Gulf as a mistake. The reaction of Michael Dukakis to the incident was more restrained but just as negative. Many observers agree that the tragedy, perhaps, would have not taken place if the United States had heeded the appeal by the world community to leave the Gulf in avoidance of a disastrous conflict.

'Natural Consequence' of Policy

PM0607091788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Ivanov "IZVESTIYA Commentary"]

[Text] Something that was bound to happen sooner or later has happened. An American "firearm" in the shape of the cruiser "Vincennes," deployed in the Near East, has fired a shot.

The United States has accepted responsibility for what has happened. President R. Reagan himself made a statement to this effect and described the incident as a

"terrible human tragedy." At the same time, administration officials describe it as "an accident," as the result of "action taken in self-defense."

But how can there be any question of self-defense, when even an inexperienced observer can distinguish between a wide-bodied Airbus flying at relatively low altitude in a clear morning sky and a two-seater military fighter aircraft?

The problem of ensuring freedom of navigation in the area remains, of course, and clamors for a solution. However, as the past year has shown, the demonstrative and massed U.S. military presence and the use of force are not conducive to safe navigation. Navigation has become much more dangerous, and the records of international insurance companies bear this out. So what is the purpose of this concentration of ships? It is intended, for the umpteenth time, to demonstrate U.S. might and to keep the Persian Gulf within the "Western sphere of influence."

The missile fired by the U.S. cruiser has sent shock waves through many of the world's capitals, including Washington. An analysis of the commentaries and statements of U.S. experts and politicians shows that the incident was no accident but a natural consequence of the short-sighted political course steered by the White House. J. Jackson, the well-known black social leader, put it very aptly. He said: The downing of the airliner "is not a result of equipment or computer failure, but rather a result of the failure of the administration's policy."

The tragedy of Flight 655 is evidence of the tremendous threat inherent in regional conflicts. Any accident could be the spark which causes a conflict to grow into a crisis. The situation in the Persian Gulf zone can and must be brought under control. However, not by means of a "gunboat policy," but rather by means of a policy dictated by the highest interests of the preservation of peace.

World Reactions Reviewed

OW0607044888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1010 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Igor Goranskiy commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Throughout the day, alarming news has been pouring into the editorial room from abroad. Much is being said about the death of the Iranian airliner with 290 passengers aboard. It was shot down by a missile fired from an American cruiser in the Persian Gulf. This tragedy caused a wave of indignation throughout the world.

Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Velayati characterized the actions of the U.S. Navy as the barbaric murder of innocent passengers.

As Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had said, two surface-to-air missiles were fired by the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes" during an engagement with Iranian Navy launches. In the words of a U.S. Defense Department spokesman, the Iranian passenger plane was supposedly mistakenly taken for a fighter. It is difficult to believe that a huge passenger plane was mistaken for a small fighter.

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department has issued a directive to all U.S. embassies to take special measures to ensure safety in connection with possible retaliatory measures undertaken by Iran for the Persian Gulf incident.

The statement released by the French Government calls on all countries to unite their efforts to avoid a repeat of this incident and ensure normalization which will bring with it peace and stability to this region of the world.

The tragic incident which led to the death of innocent people clearly attests to the futility of continuing this war, said Stoltenberg, Norwegian foreign minister, in an interview with the NORWEGIAN TELEGRAPH BUREAU. He emphasized that the Norwegian side continues to condemn any military actions which touch on the civilian population, and will continue to exert efforts directed at solving this conflict by peaceful means.

More on 'World Today' Program

OW0607024988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1242 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Igor Fesunenکو commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] The tragedy which unfolded in the Persian Gulf, where an American cruiser fired at, and brought down, an Iranian passenger plane has, for a time, become the main news item on all U.S. television and radio stations.

Over the past 2 days, American viewers have been able to see these dramatic clips several times a day. What you see is the cruiser itself, members of the crew, radar system, and the flight path of the plane, and finally, the sudden tragic climax, which led to a wave of commentaries, statements of disgust, and almost universal condemnation of the act.

Even though President Reagan expressed profound regret over the incident, his aides immediately announced that the administration is not planning to make any changes in its Persian Gulf policies. In the words of Senator Richard Lugar, the Congress does not intend, in light of the incident, to discuss the question of terminating the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf.

Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, who has been, as you know, assured of becoming the Democratic presidential candidate, called for the implementation of immediate measures to end the extreme tension in the Persian Gulf region.

The other democratic candidate, the well-known black public figure, Jessie Jackson, called it an unfortunate incident. He characterized the U.S. policies in the Persian Gulf as being a mistake. He reminded the public that American hostages held by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon are now in even greater danger.

Representatives of the U.S. State Department have announced that U.S. embassies abroad have been warned to take extra safety precautions in anticipation of possible retaliation by Iran. THE WASHINGTON POST, in analyzing the causes and the possible consequences of the U.S. cruiser attack on the Iranian passenger plane, feels that the aggressive military strategy initiated by the former U.S. Navy Secretary Lehman, had created a situation in which, not only has the possibility of a serious clash in international waters significantly increased, but also the risk of similar clashes escalating and even turning into a nuclear conflict.

CBS notes that "Vincennes" had opened fire on the plane because of a mistake during battle conditions. However, an incident similar to this had been long awaited in the Persian Gulf, where some 30 U.S. Navy vessels and a similar number belonging to West European countries have been amassed. ABC points out that this cruiser is equipped with the most up-to-date U.S. electronic equipment, designed for identification of air targets, available. In the opinion of specialists, it is difficult to understand how a passenger plane was mistaken for a fighter. The paint of a fighter and passenger plane vary greatly on a radar screen. Besides, a fighter travels at supersonic speed, approximately twice the speed of a passenger aircraft. If it were attacking, it would have been diving rather than climbing, as was the Iranian plane, which had only just taken off.

Needless to say, teletype machines are flooded with news of protests, statements of disgust and condemnation of the United States, streaming in from all continents—from Europe, America, and Africa. Stormy protest demonstrations are being staged in front of U.S. embassies in many countries. They are protesting, not only against this criminal action, but against the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, which has resulted in the tragedy inflicted on innocent people.

Comments Broadcast to Iran

NC0607050588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 4 Jul 88

[(Vyacheslav Katanidze) commentary]

[Text] With immense regret and deep concern, the Soviet social circles received the news of the U.S. warships' attack on and downing of an Iranian passenger

plane in the Persian Gulf which was carrying 290 passengers. Those killed included 52 women and 66 children and infants. This may be a mere drop in the ocean when compared with the heavy human toll taken by the Iran-Iraq War. However, a disaster is a disaster, especially when it involves absolutely innocent people. It is for this reason that everyone is contemplating the following: Where is the Gulf region heading? The incident has also forced everyone to take a fresh look at the facts brought to light.

It is obvious that, first and foremost, we must think over whether what occurred will serve to exacerbate tension in a general and fundamental manner throughout the Persian Gulf region. Even though to admit to such a reality may be a bitter pill to swallow, the disaster which befell the Iranian passenger plane can be a totally new beginning with totally new problems for civilians, and not only those of the Persian Gulf. Tension increases with the activity of extremist forces and [words indistinct] the responsibility of some politicians who do not have any (?clout) is reduced.

What is in store for the Persian Gulf in the future? What other misfortunes or strange occurrences will rain down on it if the present trend is not halted? Soviet social circles warned from the very onset of the Iran-Iraq War that within every regional conflict there is a potential increase in the possibility of other countries becoming embroiled in the conflict. The escalation of the conflict from a specific level is not a tendency but is, in general, an escalating conflict. [sentence as heard] It is as if two neighboring warring countries are sitting on a volcano for a prolonged period and are constantly awaiting a phenomenon which may be able to eliminate the military activities from their soil.

Until now, the international social circles have been able in some way to prevent the spread of the conflict and to prevent it from evolving into an explosion which would engulf the entire area. Numerous disasters have taken place; for example, the flight of an unidentified airliner over UAE oil installations, the Iranian airliner which intruded over Saudi airspace and was (?attacked) by Saudi jetfighters, the Iranian attack on Kuwait's Bubiyan Island, and so on. The Persian Gulf has become rife with the constant heightening of tension and war. On many occasions, Western publications have carried articles stressing that confining the conflict to the present scale can only be possible under the aegis of NATO, especially U.S. warships. There were many in the Persian Gulf who agreed with these claims, but only up to a certain time.

When the U.S. warships initiated military action against the Iranian warships following the Iranian missile strike against the "USS Stark" [passage as heard], and when the commanders of the U.S. warships were ordered to fire at every target that came near, [words indistinct] it became difficult and rather complicated to look upon the U.S. warships as instruments of ensuring peace.

On the contrary, the frequently heard opinion is that the extensive U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf can create conditions for incidents which are fraught with new threats against peace in general. It would be appropriate to state that the disaster of the Iranian passenger airplane has once again confirmed this fact. This is something worth pondering over.

Why is it that the U.S. detection system and the defense and anti-defense systems which cost the Americans millions of dollars could not differentiate a passenger plane from a fighter plane and led an expert on U.S. policy to comment—following the U.S. attack on an Iranian oil platform in the Persian Gulf—that they are seeking a conflict with Iran itself? Now that Washington does not refrain from following a policy of confrontation in the Persian Gulf, what has just occurred is (?expected). In recent years, it has proved the failure of the policy of confrontation in every part of the world and on every occasion.

When the great powers reach the brink of the precipice, they perceive the impossibility of continuing the policy on an international level. The time has come to bid a final farewell to the policy on a regional scale as well. The fate of the people in Central America, in South Africa, in the Near East, and within specified limits all over the world is linked to this point. To refrain from a policy of confrontation and instead use political means to reach an amicable settlement of regional conflicts is what is necessary today. In this way, new catastrophes in the world can be averted, including those concerning passenger airplanes, whether on land or in air.

Pogodin Commentary to Iran

NC0607054888 *Moscow in Persian to Iran*
1800 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Aleksandr Pogodin writes: Personally, what surprises me most is the fact that the United States obviously does not intend to assess this incident realistically and to draw the necessary conclusions. For example, after expressing his condolences and sympathies, Ronald Reagan fully defended the operations undertaken by the military personnel in the Persian Gulf, alleging that the U.S. Navy believed, on the basis of certain reasons, that the Iranian plane intended to attack the "Vincennes." The President said that what happened is fully understandable.

Our commentator then writes: I believe that the issue is one of a crime, for which preparations had been made previously. Washington officials confirmed that the warship's commander was acting precisely according to orders which state that U.S. warships should open fire whenever their personnel believe that there is a possibility of an enemy attack. It does not make any difference either to those who issue such orders or to those who execute them if the issue is one of a military plane or of

a passenger plane which is on a regular route. Needless to say, in view of the highly sophisticated electronic equipment on board the U.S. warships, it is impossible to mistake a passenger plane for a fighter plane.

Our commentator then writes: I want to point out that the crime that occurred was the direct outcome of the policy which Washington is pursuing in the Persian Gulf region; namely, of relying on force and of increasing tensions. A statement published by the official Soviet news agency, TASS, states that the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned that the path of war operations is not the path that can lead to the normalization of the situation. Had others heeded these warnings, the (?incident) that occurred possibly would have been avoided. This tragedy once again shows that the U.S. fleet should leave the Persian Gulf. All the possibilities exist for this region's peace and security to be ensured on a completely different basis; namely, on the basis of the presence of a UN navy.

Aleksandr Pogodin writes in conclusion: I should state that everything, unfortunately, points to the fact that Washington does not intend to heed the voice of logic and reason. On the contrary, Washington has once again confirmed the [word indistinct] of the policy in the Persian Gulf, which means that such [words indistinct] incidents (?will) actually [words indistinct].

'Sympathies' Conveyed to Iran

NC0607091588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union's social circles extend their deep sympathies and [word indistinct] to the Iranian people on the tragic incident as a result of which 298 passengers and the crew of an Iranian passenger plane were killed. This plane was downed over the Persian Gulf on Sunday by a missile fired by a U.S. warship stationed there. The Soviet social circles decisively condemn this crime perpetrated by the U.S. military in the Persian Gulf.

A statement published by the official Soviet news agency TASS points out that the tragedy was not accidental in any way. This tragedy was actually the direct result of U.S. acts during the past year which were aimed at increasing the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf.

The unprecedented increase in the number of U.S. warships and fighters in this region has created a dangerous situation which forebuds unpredictable incidents. The downing of the Iranian passenger plane and the killing of completely innocent people and specifically children and women is tragic proof of the possible consequences of the policy of force and of intensifying tensions.

The reliable Soviet newspaper PRAVDA writes: The militarization of the Persian Gulf and the deployment of 30 U.S. warships and the same number of [word indistinct] ships there has [words indistinct] the military [words indistinct]. This is the (?outcome) of [words indistinct] because a [word indistinct] which is (?full) always fires. This [words indistinct] should be emptied; all the military forces should be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf; and, ultimately, fruitful political steps should be taken to end the Iran-Iraq War and to stop the Pentagon's intervention in this region's affairs.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the organ of the Soviet Defense Ministry, points out that the Soviet Union considers the path which leads out of this complicated crisis to be one that drives toward the materialization of a constructive initiative. The Soviet Union has proposed the withdrawal of the military forces of countries that do not belong to this region [words indistinct] and the formation of a special UN navy to ensure security in the Persian Gulf. This is a specific step that will threaten neither peace nor stability in the region and can lead to a solution of the problem of the security of navigation. This is a step which would prevent the Iran-Iraq War, which (?has been continuing for almost 10 years), from becoming internationalized.

However, Washington and other (?major) NATO countries have not answered positively to this completely logical initiative by the Soviet Union. Moreover, despite the tragedy in the Persian Gulf skies, which has enraged the world, the U.S. Administration does not intend to change its policy in the Persian Gulf in any way. The irresponsible and criminal acts perpetrated by the U.S. military in the Persian Gulf has roused the rage and aversion of the world.

Comments to Asia-Pacific

OW0607085188 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Listeners, as we have already reported, the U. S. cruiser Vincennes destroyed an Iranian A-300 jet over the Persian Gulf with missiles, killing all 298 people onboard, 66 of whom were children. This crime as well as its scale is of international significance. It is an international crime not just because there were Yugoslavs, Indians, Pakistanis, Italians, and other foreigners among the 298 onboard the Airbus. It is also because the missiles launched by the U.S. cruiser Vincennes also tore apart the international norm, justice, and the principle of not using force against or interfering with the internal affairs of other countries.

Although some people say this is only a crime committed by the U.S. Navy, the (?explanation offered) by the United States about this tragedy and the attempt of Washington to absolve itself from this crime itself indicate that U.S. troops stationed abroad constitute a threat to mankind. One has to consider this: The downed craft was a passenger plane, and it was shot down over the

territory of another country. Moreover, it can be said that the aircraft was shot down just as it was taking off and approaching the air corridor. Not caring in the least about this, however, President Reagan declared that the U.S. deeply regrets any loss of life on the aircraft and that the Iran Air jet was headed directly for the Vincennes. A deduction based on this logic would be that whether an international air route can be used or not will depend entirely on whether there is any U.S. warship or U.S. military base nearby. If an aircraft disregards this and heads right in their direction, it would be shot down by U.S. missiles.

A question that inevitably will be brought to one's mind by this tragedy over the Persian Gulf is: Who gave Washington this right? Why would U.S. allies come to the defense of Washington's practice of doing whatever it likes? There is another question—the same question that reporters found they could not help but ask Admiral Crowe at his news conference. That is, what is the difference between this incident and the past incident involving a South Korean aircraft? The admiral could not offer much to convince people except a vague response that distorted the fact. He said: The South Korean aircraft did not receive any warning signal, and the charge lodged against that plane was that it was carrying out aerial reconnaissance. This statement made by the admiral was an attempt to confound black and white and confuse right and wrong. There are official documents today which prove that the unfortunate incident of 1983 was deliberately staged by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and that the South Korean aircraft in question was flying in the airspace of another country and it received several warning signals before the incident.

But the question does not lie here. It should be noted that the U.S. President categorically asserted without any guilt that the only interest of the United States in the Persian Gulf is to seek peace, and this unfortunate incident indicates it is necessary to strive to realize this goal as soon as possible. If we agree with the President's assertion, then the same preposterous incidents will inevitably occur in the future. Doubtless to say, no peace can be attained by this approach, particularly peace in the Persian Gulf. To quote the U.S. President, this unfortunate incident was no doubt premeditated. When 30 U.S. warships plus the same number of warships from its allies are concentrated in the Persian Gulf with swords drawn and bows bent, the area naturally will find itself on the brink of a situation in which an incident may be triggered at any moment. When a gun is loaded, it will fire sooner or later. The latest incident is proof. What should be done is to unload the gun by withdrawing all warships from the coastal areas. In order to take an effective and political measure to stop the Iran-Iraq War, the Pentagon must stop interfering in the Gulf area's affairs.

In addition, there are many questions that may cause serious consequences. For instance, is it feasible to have full confidence in the computer and other so-called reliable technologies of the United States? If the most modern electronic equipment could still mistake the very slow Airbus

for a supersonic fighter plane, as it did in the recent incident, then who can guarantee the so-called super electronic computer technologies of the United States will not make the same mistake again when the United States implements its Strategic Defense Initiative in the future, causing hard-to-predict consequences?

Moreover, obviously the United States should keep its military force within the confines of its own territories. Otherwise, unfortunate incidents could occur anywhere in the world where there is a U.S. military base. Conflicts could occur, and the tense international situation as a whole would be worsened. There is another, very important situation. People will no longer believe in the so-called self-defense principle for provoked fights as depicted in two U.S. movies. [not further identified] Under such pretext of self-defense, the United States has slaughtered innocent civilians, including women and children.

What was destroyed was not just a passenger plane. Gone also was the mask of U.S. military principle.

Pogodin Comments Broadcast in Mandarin
OW0607084888 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Here is a commentary by Pogodin about the situation created by the tragedy last Sunday, the destruction by the U.S. Navy of an Iranian airliner over the Persian Gulf. This is what the commentator writes:

What confounded me most was that the United States has no intention of assessing in realistic terms what has happened and draw necessary conclusions. For example, after expressing his condolences for the victims, President Reagan fully defended the crime committed by the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf. It seemed that the U.S. military had reasons to believe that the Iranian airplane was going to make a sudden attack on U.S. cruiser "Vincennes." The U.S. President declared this incident to be completely understandable. I firmly believe what we are talking about here is a criminal act and a deliberate one at that.

Washington officially reiterated that the captain of the cruiser was acting strictly in keeping with the relevant instructions, and these include opening fire immediately, for counterattack is permissible if there is suspicion of the danger of an enemy attack.

For those who gave orders or those who followed them, it really does not matter whether what they were going to shoot down was a military plane or an airliner making a regular flight. I want to point out that it is absolutely impossible for the U.S. cruiser, which is equipped with very sophisticated electronic equipment, to fail to identify the airliner's different shape. I would like to emphasize that this criminal act is a direct consequence of

Washington's policy of carrying out a policy of violence and increasing tension in the Persian Gulf. As a TASS statement points out: The USSR has given numerous warnings that the path of military actions is not one that can bring a normalization of the situation. Had they heeded these warnings, there would be no such incident on 3 July. The tragedy is another indication that the United States should leave the Gulf region.

Now there is every possibility of ensuring peace and security in this region, if based on another foundation and with the help of the UN naval force.

In conclusion, Podogin says, regretably that so far there is not any indication that Washington is willing to listen to the voice of reason. On the contrary, Washington has emphasized several times that its policy on the Persian Gulf remains unchanged. This means it is possible that similar tragedies might happen again.

Vasilyev Comments to Cuba

PA0507160588 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0100 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Commentary by station commentator Stanislav Vasilyev]

[Text] The tragedy occurred thousands of miles from the United States and only a few minutes from Iran. The Reagan administration has deployed a huge armada in the region with the pretext of protecting the area. More than once, U.S. warships and planes have started armed actions against Iranian boats. This gives the impression that the crews of U.S. warships and military planes are victims of a warmongering psychosis. For them, there is no difference between a military plane or a huge civilian plane.

At this moment, according to the CNN television network, the U.S. State Department has instructed its embassies in most countries to take special security measures in view of possible Iranian reprisals. As we can see, they are preparing for reprisals. However, something else is absolutely necessary. It is necessary to understand that peace or the liberty to sail in the Persian Gulf will not be achieved through military actions and attacks or by responding to a blow with another blow. Will the Reagan Administration understand after this tragedy that it is necessary to withdraw from the Persian Gulf the warships of the United States and other nations that do not belong in the area?

Pogodin Comments to Cuba

PA0607041788 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0100 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] I am amazed that despite all that has happened, the United States is unwilling to analyze the real cause behind what happened and to reach the necessary conclusions. When Ronald Reagan expressed his condolences, he defended the U.S. military's actions in the

Persian Gulf by saying that he had reasons to believe that the aircraft was about to attack the cruiser "Vincennes." The President described the incident as completely understandable.

I am convinced that it was a premeditated crime. Washington officially confirmed that the cruiser's captain had acted appropriately in that situation when the danger of an enemy attack was suspected.

It seems as if both those who issued the instructions and those who carried them out cared little if it was a military aircraft or a passenger plane on a regular flight. U.S. warships are equipped with modern electronic equipment that precludes all possibilities of confusing two so dissimilar types of aircraft.

It is worth noting that this crime is nothing more than the result of Washington's Persian Gulf policy of force and increased tension. According to TASS, the USSR has more than once warned that warlike actions have nothing in common with steps taken to normalize the area's situation.

If the United States had listened to these warnings, this great tragedy would not have happened. All that has happened once again confirms the need to remove the U.S. Navy from the Persian Gulf. There are means of ensuring peace and security in this area on a qualitatively different basis—in other words, through UN naval forces.

Afghan Rebel Opposition Intensifies Activities

Group Leaders Confer

LD0407114088 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT
4 Jul 88

["Pakistan's Actions Run Counter to Geneva Agreements"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul July 4 TASS—General Fazl Haq, member of the secret commission on the transfer of weapons to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, held a conference of the opposition group leaders involving diplomatic representatives of the United States and Saudi Arabia on June 20-21, according to reports monitored here.

The conference passed a decision to intensify combat actions in several provinces of Afghanistan, above all in Konarha, Laghman and Nangarhar Provinces. It approved extra measures to prevent the return of refugees to the homeland, among them ways to tighten control on roads in the border areas of Pakistan.

A group, which is supplied with booby traps (mines disguised as household articles) to stage acts of sabotage in Kabul, joined the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) opposition group in Lowgar Province late in June, where it arrived from Pakistan.

The leaders of the Peshawar Alliance of the Seven have been taking measures lately to increase the strength of the formations which are smuggled into Afghan territory. A reward of 10,000 to 14,000 Afghanis a month was fixed for everybody who will give consent to join the ranks of the "fighters for faith." This sum approximately equals a monthly pay of a minister in the Afghan Government.

A new training center of the Islamic party of Afghanistan was set up in the area of Kalal ar Kalan [name as received], 25 kilometers east of Rawalpindi, Pakistan, where up to 2.5 thousand people can undergo schooling in sabotage techniques. Thirty militants from Oruzgan Province arrived in Wana, South Waziristan Agency, to join Jandallah regiment to undergo training in demolition techniques.

The Pakistani authorities give vigorous assistance to the Alliance of the Seven in smuggling weapons into Afghan territory. To secure unimpeded passage by columns of trucks with military loads, the rebel leaders report to the Pakistani patrols their routes and truck numbers. The IPA groups Hikmatyar and Khalis display special vigour in smuggling weapons from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

A detachment of the Khalis "party" numbering about 200 people has arrived in Nangarhar Province recently, where it brought 3,000 rocket projectiles and a large amount of ammunition to mortars and recoilless guns. A caravan delivered some 50 tonnes of military cargoes to Lowgar Province from a transshipment base of the Hikmatyar "party" in Parachinar, Kurram Agency, Pakistan.

Large batches of weapons are also shipped to Paghman District, Kabul Province. A new transshipment point for the Khalis formations was set up in the area of Shigaldar [name as received], where military cargoes from the town of Khar, Pakistan, are delivered.

Afghan Foreign Ministry Briefing

*LD0407123488 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT
4 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 4 TASS—The BAKHTAR News Agency has circulated a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan in connection with contradictory interpretations concerning the formation of a coalition government in Afghanistan.

Eighteen months ago, the statement says, the Afghan leadership and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) not only expressed readiness to start a dialogue with all opposition forces, including the 'Alliance of Seven', but also made practical steps in that direction. Within the channel of this policy the Government of Afghanistan established contacts and some representatives of the opposition abroad. The contacts in a number of cases produced positive results.

The government's consistent course towards national reconciliation has made possible such a situation when 13 provinces, a large number of districts and regions are now governed by those who earlier were in opposition to the state. In the government itself, 19 seats are provided for people who are not PDPA members, and a number of seats are assigned to representatives of opposition groups.

The idea of forming a broad coalition was supported by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, the United States, Pakistan, the United Nations secretary-general and his personal representative Diego Cordovez during the Geneva talks.

The statement points out the need for the elaboration of a new mechanism for the formation of a coalition. Cessation of hostilities is essential, first of all, for the establishment of a dialogue, and the Afghan Government is ready for that, the Foreign Ministry's statement says.

The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan expresses the confidence that there is no other way now for a solution of the problems but to form a coalition government with broad participation of all Afghan forces. This idea is corroborated by the fact that the so-called interim government formed in Peshawar with the assistance of the Pakistani Government did not get support of the Afghan forces either inside the country or abroad.

The idea of two parallel processes—A settlement of the Afghanistan situation and national reconciliation—was supported during the Geneva talks. But the outcome of the intensification of combat actions on the part of opposition was that the idea remained only a good wish. Pakistan does not implement the Geneva accords.

The statement emphasises that for the creation of normal conditions for the formation of a coalition government it is necessary that the United States and Pakistan strictly observe the provisions of the documents which they signed in Geneva.

Afghanistan's stand on the formation of a coalition government is based on the premise that an end should be put to the bloodshed, and that all opposition groups, Afghan public and political figures inside the country and abroad as well as representatives of refugees, should participate in the settlement process, the Afghan Foreign Ministry's statement underlines.

Afghan Army Successes Cited

*LD0507130788 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT
5 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 5 TASS—"To form a new mechanism of coalition rule in Afghanistan it will take an end to all armed operations and clashes in the country, full ceasefire," said M. Amani [name as received] head of the press centre of the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan.

Addressing a briefing here, he stressed that the idea of a coalition government enjoys the support of the mass of the people. To ensure its successful activities, the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, public and political figures, representatives of refugees is necessary.

The Government of Afghanistan, M. Amani noted, takes a constructive stand on the implementation of the Geneva accords and strictly abides by its commitments. The Afghan side, he continued, welcomes the intention of the United Nations and a number of international organizations and individuals to give Afghanistan urgent economic and humanitarian aid. M. Amani said that it would be directed at restoring the country's war-ravaged economy, and voiced hope for the support of that humane step by the whole international community.

In conclusion the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry has refuted the fabrications circulated in the West about the "capture of some provincial and district centres by opposition detachments." He emphasized that all the attempts made by armed opposition in that direction are neutralised by the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Letter to UN on Violations

LD0607025088 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0146 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] New York 6 Jul (TASS)—A.M. Belonogov, the permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations has sent a letter to UN Secretary-General J.P. de Cuellar, voicing serious concern over the situation that has developed following Pakistani violations during implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

These agreements, the letter points out, are a package of clearly balanced mutual undertakings by the sides to guarantee a comprehensive solution to the Afghan problem: a halt to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs on the one hand, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country on the other. The Soviet Union has, on a number of occasions, stated its intention of unswervingly heeding all the obligations it has assumed without exception. These statements have been consistently backed up by practical actions. The withdrawal of Soviet troops is being implemented in accordance with the timetable laid down in the Geneva agreements.

The letter notes that specific steps are being taken by the Afghan Government in strict accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Geneva agreements. Attention is drawn to the unfounded attempts to depict the gratuitous economic aid to the people of Afghanistan, including handing over the buildings and exclusively civilian property that remain after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, as "billion [currency not specified] military assistance."

At the same time the message stresses that Pakistan, while declaring a commitment to the Geneva agreements, actually continues to interfere in Afghanistan's

internal affairs. The transfer of weapons and of armed opposition groupings into Afghanistan is continuing from Pakistani territory. As before, the rebels' headquarters and training centers are located in Pakistan. The authorities there encourage the actions of the opposition that are intended to hinder the process of Afghan refugees returning home, and provide assistance to it in removing arms dumps to places that are inaccessible to inspection by UN personnel. In spite of the Geneva agreements, the Pakistani side is not providing the necessary assistance to the group of UN observers operating on its territory. Restrictions are imposed on their freedom of movement, and artificial delays are created for on-site inspections.

The letter, which has been distributed as an official document of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, contains a call to induce Pakistan to observe strictly the Geneva agreements, the implementation of which would be an important breakthrough in the cause of achieving a political settlement of regional conflicts, which are fraught with danger for the world at large and retard people's progress.

Perfilyev Denies City 'Flattened'

LD0607092688 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today denied Western media claims that the city of Kowt-e 'Ashrow, capital of Vardak province, has been flattened by Soviet and Afghan air raids.

"What really happened", Vadim Perfilyev, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a news briefing here, "was that armed opposition groups attempted to seize that city 40 kilometers from Kabul but were foiled by the Afghan militia."

"The city is under government control and there is no destruction in Kowt-e 'Ashrow," the spokesman added.

He also denied reports by Western wire services about the opposition's seizure of the city of Paghman 17 kilometers from the capital.

"There is military confrontation between government troops and rebel units but no populated locality, as of today, has been surrendered to the rebels," Perfilyev said.

Foreign Advisers Involved

LD0607101988 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 6 TASS—Western benefactors of the Pakistani military administration and the Afghan opposition move to escalate direct interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.

According to reports reaching here, four Arab advisers with the guard of a hundred people arrived in Nejrab District, Kapisa Province, on June 25 to encourage the rebels' subversive activity and also to pay damages running into 25,000-30,000 Afghanis to the families of killed and maimed mujahidins.

On the same day, British military advisers and Pakistani servicemen arrived in Shelton Ravine [name as received], Konarha Province, to give guidance to rebels' combat operations to seize and destroy the posts guarding Asmar District and Dangam Volost (small rural district).

Four American and French cameramen are now staying in the area of Zhawara [name as received], Paktia Province. They plan to make a film about combat operations conducted by the group of Mawlawi Jalaluddin Haqqani.

According to available information, the United States turned over to the Pakistani Army late in June an additional 50 tanks which are deployed in the cities of Quetta and Karachi at present.

By and large, the competent bodies of the Republic of Afghanistan recorded the stay of 49 foreign advisers—35 Arab, three American, four West German, two French and one Chinese—in the territory of the border provinces of Konarha and Nangarhar, and in Khowst District, Paktia Province, from May 21 till now.

If earlier foreign advisers were engaged mostly in filming and photographing the activity of the armed opposition, in the last month they took a direct part in planning and organising the rebels' subversive activity against Government troops and bodies of popular power.

Two Americans and two Arab advisers in engineering and building up mass terror against civilians, and also inspection teams of the armed formations of the opposition arrived in Lowgar Province the other day.

Four advisers have been supervising mujahidins' combat training at a base of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) near Khowst for over a week now. They coach them in the more effective methods of terror, raising panic in Afghan villages and acts of sabotage.

Two French journalists penetrated into the 'Abd al-Latif gang (National Islamic Front of Afghanistan) in Qandahar Province in June. They took part in the funerals of Najib, a ringleader of a National Islamic Front of Afghanistan group who died in the fight against Government troops. The Frenchmen paid from 30,000 to 60,000 afghanis to the bereaved family and also to several members of his group who were injured in that fight.

Gerasimov Discusses Situation

LD0407194888 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—The armed opposition in Afghanistan continue hostilities aimed at creating an atmosphere of terror.

This has been stated at a briefing here today by head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov. He said that actually these are not military actions, but bombardment of civilian structures, in which civilians are killed, dwelling houses and national economy structures are wrecked.

"We are compelled to note," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, "that Pakistan, in violation of the Geneva agreements, continues actively assisting in transferring by the Alliance of Seven to the territory of Afghanistan new units of armed opposition, and also armaments and ammunition. Pakistani advisers participate in forming caravans."

The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry has said that a band formation of 350 men of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan arrived at the Konarha Province from the Pakistani territory. It is planned to be used for forming a regiment of 1,000 men. Lots of weapons, including jet shells, have been taken in the past few days from Pakistan to the provinces of Kapisa, Kabul, Oruzgan, Lowgar and Khowst.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia's Tigray, Eritrea Situation Viewed

LD0207122988 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] We bring you a commentary on the situation in the northern part of Ethiopia:

It is not unusual to see soldiers on the streets of Ethiopia's towns. Especially these days, when all the Ethiopian people are aware of the situation in the Eritrea and Tigray regions. Voluntary groups are constantly going to the north for the campaign to counter and destroy the narrow nationalists and the secessionist groups bent on destroying Ethiopia's national and territorial integrity. Their relentless struggle against the secessionists there will be decisive, and the peace which the people eagerly await will prevail in Eritrea and Tigray.

According to reports we recently received from northern Ethiopia, the Revolutionary Army has so far liberated Adigrat, Idaga Hamus, Wikro, and Abiy Adi from the secessionists. Earlier May Chew, Amba Alage, and Alamata were liberated from the bandits. The secessionist groups are now retreating to the mountains. A large

number of weapons and ammunition have been captured. The majority of the peasants in Eritrea and Tigray have been subjected to bitterness, and the recurrent drought has reduced the fertile land.

In addition bandit groups destroyed roads and schools, burned food aid, recruited youths by force, and committed various crimes against the people. It is well known that the secessionists burned the vehicles sent to deliver food aid for people suffering from starvation in the north. As a result of the reactionary forces' interference in the internal affairs of the young republic of Ethiopia, the on-and-off war and drought have become problems for the people.

Certain Western groups do not hesitate to attempt to achieve political advantage from the suffering of the Ethiopians, and they use every opportunity to weaken the political leadership of the revolutionary government through propaganda. The bourgeois mass media distort the situation in northern Ethiopia and discredit the revolutionary governments' efforts to find a lasting solution for the drought problem. Whenever the revolutionary government of Ethiopia takes resolute action to stop the adventurous acts of the secessionists, Western groups disseminate anti-Ethiopia propaganda.

The reason given for the start of the present Western propaganda campaign was the Ethiopian Government's decision to withdraw foreign relief workers from the war zones of Tigray and Eritrea. However it should be known that the withdrawal of only 31 foreigners from the area was only for their own safety. On the other hand about 2,000 Ethiopians have continued with their emergency work of distributing food to drought victims. UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar, who recently visited Ethiopia, commended the revolutionary government's operations to give aid to drought victims. Many foreign observers who toured and inspected drought-affected areas confirmed that the government activities were productive.

Vasev on Angolan Talks, Relations With RSA
MB0207115788 Moscow in English to South Africa
1800 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Interview with Vladilen Vasev, senior official in the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, by an unidentified Radio Moscow reporter; date and place not given—recorded in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Reporter] How would you describe the Soviet Union's policy towards the conflict in the south of Africa?

[Vasev] The present policy towards the conflict in the south of Africa is based on the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It was said clearly that the Soviet Union would be working to help solve the conflict through the collective efforts of the countries involved in the conflict. Much has already been done in that respect.

The Soviet Union believes, for instance, that the talks which have lately begun on such an important part of the conflict as settling the Angola-Namibian question is a positive process. The talks are conducted by Angola and Cuba on the one side, and South Africa on the other through the mediation of the United States.

The second round of the talks ended in Cairo recently. The Soviet Union does not take part in them, but it consults on the issue with its friends in Angola and Cuba. It also has contacts on a more or less regular basis with the United States. So if the Soviet Union is asked directly to join the talks, it would be ready to do that. At present, however, it is, so to say, an unofficial observer. The Soviet Union is for continuing the talks, making them maximally productive, and having them and successfully as soon as possible.

[Reporter] Are those talks the only way of untangling the Angolan-Namibian knot, or is there another alternative?

[Vasev] In international affairs, there are always alternatives, but they are productive only when the conditions are right for them. In this case, the three-sided agreement between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, guaranteed by the international community, is the only real one. There does not seem to be another way.

True, South Africa is trying to advance an alternative. It seeks to settle the problem on a bilateral basis between South Africa and Angola, but that is a complicated way. Besides, it is made even harder by the actions of South Africa. That includes the presence of a big military contingent of South Africa on the territory of sovereign Angola, and those troops are conducting military operations.

What is more, the situation in the south of Africa has long overstepped local boundaries. It has become a major international problem, and experience shows that regional problems are solved much better if the whole community takes part in the process.

[Reporter] Be, so to say, an unofficial observer? The Soviet Union has constant contact with three of the parties in the talks—Cuba, Angola, and the United States. Could there appear the need to establish contact with the fourth party, South Africa?

[Vasev] At first glance, those are four-sided talks, but actually the negotiations are going on between a joint delegation of Angola and Cuba, and the South African delegation, with the mediation of the United States. Under such an arrangement, we did not have contacts with the delegation of South Africa, and there does not seem to be any big need in that. But, I do not rule out the need for such contacts as some stage. The Soviet Union's policy toward South Africa has been formulated outside the talks. It supports the well-known resolutions of the United Nations on boycotting South Africa.

As for a comprehensive boycott, the Soviet Union's stand on apartheid is also very clear. This racist system, which is an anachronism of our times, should be done away with. This is a sentiment widely spread all over the world. The United States is also for eliminating the regime of apartheid; but, I repeat, at the present stage of the talks, the Soviet Union has no contacts with South Africa.

OAU's Traore on Peace in Southern Africa
*LD0307100188 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT
3 Jul 88*

[Text] Bamako July 3 TASS—Establishment of peace and stability in the south of Africa is one of the main tasks of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) said Moussa Traore, OAU chairman and president of Mali. Receiving Afonso Van-Dunem, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Angola, staying here on a visit, he said that the only way of settling this problem lies in Pretoria's discontinuation of aggressive intrigues against independent neighbouring states, immediate and unconditional decolonization of Namibia and elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The OAU will do its utmost in a search for ways of a just and lasting peace in the region. This will enable Angola to direct efforts at settling the tasks of development, pointed out Moussa Traore.

Touching on the situation in the south of Africa after the recent talks in Cairo between Angola, Cuba, the USA and South Africa on normalizing the situation in Angola and decolonization of Namibia, Afonso Van-Dunem said that the racist regime resorted to various tricks so as to procrastinate realization of decisions taken on the south of Africa and to perpetuate the apartheid regime.

S. Africa Settlement Needs U.S. 'Mediation'
*PM0507091188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Own correspondent M. Pavlov dispatch: "After Cairo"]

[Text] Luanda—The talks in Cairo were held in an atmosphere of great frankness and realism, Afonso Van-Dunem, head of the Angolan delegation and Angolan minister of foreign relations, said after the conclusion of the quadripartite meeting (among Angola, Cuba, the United States, and Republic of South Africa).

Judging by a report in JORNAL DE ANGOLA, the main achievement of the Cairo round of the talks was an accord to the effect that the experts who had taken part in the talks would meet in the United States during the second 10-day period of July. Their task will be to draft a document which will form the basis of future talks, and possibly also of a future agreement on the establishment of peace in southern Africa. According to J. Risquet, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, who headed the Cuban delegation at

the talks in Egypt, the document is to be based on the UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia, stipulate the ending of all external aid to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] terrorist grouping, and include international guarantees that the Republic of South Africa [RSA] will end its acts of aggression against Angola. In that event, J. Risquet said, the Cuban forces will withdraw from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, where they are now present in accordance with the UN Charter.

However, the RSA insisted at the Cairo meeting that the problem should be tackled by removing its effect (that is by withdrawing the Cuban internationalists) rather than the original cause of the regional conflict (the occupation of Namibia and of part of the territory of Angola). It was precisely this kind of RSA "counterproposal" which produced a tense atmosphere at the initial stage of the talks, according to a Pretoria radio report. Even prior to the opening of the talks Risquet had said that a favorable answer from Pretoria to Luanda's peace initiatives could hardly be expected. Nonetheless, even according to Pretoria's appraisal, the Cairo meeting helped to clarify the positions of the sides involved in the conflict and also to elaborate a specific platform for further talks.

South African journalists stress especially the presence in Cairo of a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, interpreting it as evidence of the Soviet leadership's interest in finding ways to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the south of the African Continent. Everyone is waiting for Pretoria to adopt a realistic approach to the solution of the problems of the region and for the United States to show goodwill. The view in Luanda is that much will depend now on the honest mediation of Washington. However, unfortunately, at the moment the United States presents the main obstacle to the implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibia and, consequently, also acts as a brake on the unblocking of the regional conflict. Many observers have drawn attention to the fact that while the talks were taking place in Cairo J. Savimbi, leader of UNITA, was visiting the United States in the hope of mustering material, political, and moral support for his grouping.

The view in Luanda is that a just settlement in southern Africa can only be expected if U.S. and RSA public statements are matched by practical action.

Sofinskiy Appointed Ambassador to Burundi
*LD0507020588 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 4
Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has appointed Vsevolod Sofinskiy as ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Burundi. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR relieved Valeriy Tsybukov of the duties of the ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Burundi in conjunction with his transfer to another job. Vsevolod

Sofinskiy was born in 1924. He has been in diplomatic service since 1963. He was a counsellor of the USSR Embassy in Britain, ambassador of the USSR to New Zealand and concurrently to the Kingdom of Tonga and Western Samoa. In the central apparatus of the USSR Foreign Ministry he worked as head of the department of cultural ties with foreign countries, head of the press department, chief counsellor of the department on planning foreign policy activities. Until now Vsevolod Sofinskiy had been first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry department on humanitarian and cultural ties.

East Europe

Hungary's MSZMP Leader Grosz Visits Moscow

Interviewed Before Arrival

LD0307222588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 3 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers, is to arrive in our country tomorrow on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. On the eve of his visit, he gave an interview to Soviet television.

[Begin recording] [Yevgeniy Shirokov, identified by caption] Comrade Grosz, on the eve of your visit to our country, the 19th All-Union Party Conference has taken place. What is your assessment of its results?

[Grosz, in Hungarian fading into Russian translation] This conference can, with full justification, be seen as an event of historic significance. A serious step has been taken along the road of further developing democracy. I am convinced that the conference will become an important landmark in the life not just of the Soviet Union but of the other socialist countries as well. I think that we have an example of what the practice of renewing socialism should be like, and I think that example is worthy of being followed by each socialist country.

If one talks about the future, life itself will be the genuine verification of the decisions worked out by the conference. We have made decisions on more than one occasion, but their values have often been unable to become manifest in practice. I hope that the Soviet Communists' present conference defines a line that will gain the masses' support. This will be the guarantee of its successful implementation.

Some time is required still before all of us who have followed the progress of the conference with enormous interest can interpret the variety of views and wealth of ideas it presented. All this could be seen in television programs and in the press. For me, one of the greatest impressions was the fact that formulae and conclusions

were born in a lively clash of views, even in confrontation. It seems to me that in this a qualitatively new approach prevailed and the 19th conference is thus important and significant, not just in content but also from the point of view of confirming the new style of Communist work and the development of political culture.

[Shirokov] You are coming to our country as the leader of Budapest's Communist organization and as the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. Now you have been elected general secretary of the MSZMP. What are your mood, your thoughts, and feelings as you go to the Soviet Union?

[Grosz] It is particularly interesting for me to visit the Soviet Union only a few days after the 19th party conference, and it is obvious that the Soviet leadership will still retain impressions of that conference. I should like primarily to hold consultations on matters of international politics and to know better the prospects for how so a country as small as Hungary, which is committed to the cause of socialism, can find its place in the implementation of a general foreign policy program.

I would also like to discuss our bilateral relations. Great renewal is underway within CEMA. New forms are emerging in the economy of the USSR, and a new phase is unfolding in the development of Hungary's economy. Hungary has long been linked by thousands of threads to the Soviet economy, and we now need to adapt to the economic transformations taking place in your country. This mechanism is not yet fully sorted out, but I think this is temporary and that our cooperation will be developed. This will serve the cause of improving our traditionally good relations and the strengthening of our friendship. [end recording]

Greeted by Ligachev, Medvedev

LD0407205988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1725 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jul (TASS)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the airport he was welcomed by Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The state flags of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport.

Rajnai, Stukalin at Airport

LD0407210088 Budapest MTI in English
1803 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 4 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and prime minister, arrived to Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU CC on Monday evening. At the Seremetevo-2 Airport he was met by Yegor Ligachev, member of CPSU CC PC and CC secretary and Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU CC. Sandor Rajnai, the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Moscow and Boris Stukalin, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Budapest, were also present.

Received by Gorbachev

PM0607112788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under headline "Friendly Meeting"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on 5 July with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, in Moscow on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Gorbachev cordially congratulated Grosz on his election to the highest leading post in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and wished him great successes in his work.

Thanking Gorbachev for the congratulations, Grosz emphasized that his first foreign visit as MSZMP general secretary was to Moscow, which demonstrated special significance attached by the Hungarian Communists to friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In the discussion that lasted more than three hours, the sides focused their attention on problems of renewing socialism, restructuring social, political and economic structures and the role and methods of the party's activity in the present-day conditions.

Describing the 19th nationwide party conference, Gorbachev emphasized that this was a first truly open party forum for many decades. Its delegates had an opportunity to discuss in an impassioned and committed way vital problems facing the country. Given all differences and at times clashes of views, the strategy of perestroika received powerful moral and political support, and that was the most important thing.

Our country has immense potentialities both from the viewpoint of material resources and the skill of the workforce. Much can be achieved by merely putting things in order, but it is especially important that the new economic mechanism start working.

The conference said its weighty word in favor of innovators, inquiring and resourceful people. Its course towards democratizing the party and society and reforming the political system is of immense significance.

Of course, in the conditions of democracy, the leaders found it more difficult to act in some areas. But that is a necessity. Now, to be a leader, it is necessary to win recognition from below and confirm it constantly by good work, by the ability to handle issues with the participation of the working people.

Grosz said that each day of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference evoked enormous attention and interest in Hungary. This was due to the fact that the all-Hungary conference of the MSZMP, held in May, also resolved issues of overdue changes in the economic and political system.

We are faced with the urgent task of renewing socialist society, the Hungarian leader said. Although there are many differences between our countries, the strategy of this process is identical.

We, too, put in the foreground the issue of involving working people in the solution of state and social affairs. We are also looking for optimal forms and methods of work of the party as the political vanguard of society that does not substitute for state, the more so, economic bodies.

Gorbachev observed that the CPSU leadership thoroughly studied the documents of the Hungarian party conference, compared them with our intentions, checked ourselves against the friends' experience.

The situation is different, of course, but there are many things that are identical, above all in the spirit, in theoretical views, in the concept.

The leaders of the two fraternal parties had a conversation on such a topical theme as enhancing the role of elected bodies. Karoly Grosz said that a working commission of members of the MSZMP Central Committee had recently been formed in Hungary and instructed to analyze the country's development over recent decades. This was necessary in order to prepare materials for the drafting of the party's program. Other commissions would deal with matters of the regulations, with the ripe changes in the country's Constitution, with the concept of a long-term economic plan.

"We have much the same intentions," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "We specifically ponder on how members of the Central Committee, concurrently with their jobs, should actively participate in the activity of the Central Committee at all stages of the elaboration of political decisions. Clearly, we, too, shall form commissions on the main directions of domestic and foreign policy, and

a more precise role of the party apparatus will then be established. It must be adjusted to discharging the functions of the party as the political vanguard of society."

Mikhail Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz exchanged principled opinions about the state of Soviet-Hungarian relations, expressing satisfaction with the growing atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding. The importance of comparing views, studying each other's experience, and widening the information exchange was emphasized. The consensus was expressed about the need to restructure the existing mechanism of interaction in the economy. The efforts of the sides would be aimed at the quest for mutually-acceptable solutions of questions of balancing commercial relations and payments between the USSR and Hungary, of preserving and possibly increasing the volumes of trade turnover. The need for the deepening of specialization and cooperation on the basis of contemporary achievements of the scientific and technological progress was noted at the same time. Both sides proceeded from the need for a more vigorous use of such a stimulus as direct material interest of enterprises and organizations participating in cooperation. The line for widening communication between citizens of the two countries, for intensifying youth contacts for bringing up the young generation in the spirit of Soviet-Hungarian friendship, and for the deepening of ties at local level would be continued.

Some matters of the present-day international situation were touched upon during the conversation. Karoly Grosz highly assessed the results of Soviet-American summits and noted that due to them, the road had been paved to gradually ridding Europe of the nuclear arsenals. The participants in the conversation noted that reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe was becoming at present a priority problem of international affairs in Europe. The initiative made by the Warsaw Treaty member states two years ago had been enriched over the past period with many new proposals. What was needed now was not to delay the talks on this matter of priority importance for the future of all European peoples.

The Soviet Union and Hungary would continue consultations and interaction in the European direction, which has one of the priority places in their foreign policy.

The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz was cordial and friendly and took place in an atmosphere of comradely frankness [otkrovennost] and complete mutual understanding. CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev participated in it.

Comments on Gorbachev Talks

LD0507193988 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Karoly Grosz, the party's general secretary and chairman of the government, after talks with Gorbachev in Moscow, spoke to our correspondent Jozsef Havel:

[Begin recording] [Havel] Comrade Grosz, you are in Moscow for the first time in your capacity as party general secretary. At the same time, Comrade Gorbachev is holding discussions with a foreign party leader for the first time after the party conference.

[Grosz] Yes. Well, this is a unique, historical moment, in the true sense of the word. Not much time elapsed between the two party conferences. I am also full of recent experiences, the experiences of the Hungarian party conference; I got the sense from the course of my talks here, my conversations, that the Soviet leaders—Comrade Gorbachev, as well—are standing, and living, under the impact of their own conference. Whether our conversations were held officially, in the car, or at the table, the experiences, the events of the conference were discussed everywhere. This is understandable, too, and the turnabout [fordulat] is historical in the true sense of the word. I consciously used this expression earlier because it shows that it was a successful consultation, giving further impetus to the program determined 3 years ago.

[Havel] Has the discussion with Mikhail Gorbachev brought anything new in the economic sphere? What would you now say to the economic experts, whom you recently spoke to in Budapest?

[Grosz] Well, first and foremost, I would say that they should continue to trade with persistence, and they should look into the possibilities for cooperation because I found at every discussion of ours that the Soviet leadership very much wants effective, modern cooperation. The leadership is aware that the system of interestedness is not worked out enough; it does not sufficiently encourage cooperation. It is aware that the mechanism of economic cooperation does not accord with the requirements of the present day, and its resolute intention is to change this. He who has enough patience and persistence now will later, with all certainty, find what he expected. This is an enormous country. In the future, enormous energies will be devoted to making the economy dynamic.

The conversation showed—indeed, Comrade Gorbachev even said as much—that, first and foremost, the development of the food industry and the food economy will get primary freedom of maneuver and support, since, as he worded it, at the party conference this was one of the big issues in which the leadership was quite severely condemned by public opinion, or the delegates. But it is not just the food economy; in other spheres, too, there is a clear, thought-out development program, or there is work on one where it has not yet ripened. Prominent in this is the machine industry, as well as the instruments-industry program.

For this reason, from among the concrete topics of our conversations, these were given special attention. Therefore, I recommend to my factory-manager friends that they should perseveringly, consistently struggle against the obstacles which at the moment are still present.

[Havel] We learn from the communique that international issues were also put on the table. What did Comrades Gorbachev and Grosz place the emphasis on in this sphere?

[Grosz] Well, first and foremost, the deepening of the process of detente constituted the subject of the conversation. Properly speaking, we considered how, alongside the great powers, a small country such as Hungary can find the freedom and possibility of movement, where, alongside its national interests, it can also serve universal interests. There are very many opportunities for this. Comrade Gorbachev also worded it thus: that the solution of the European problems is very important. He said it has an outstanding role in all of foreign politics, and as a European country, albeit a small country, Hungary has great experiences in this; it has a living system of relations which it can use to deepen these.

[Havel] Recently, our government has devoted special attention to the non-Hungarian citizens of Hungarian nationality, who live abroad. We know also that Soviet citizens of Hungarian nationality live in the Soviet Union. What is the situation?

[Grosz] Well, in the past years, many efforts have been directed toward enriching the national culture, the Hungarian-ness of the Hungarians living in sub-Carpathia, here. Possibilities for travel have broadened, although it appears to us that restrictions, primarily restrictions in administration, still exist here, which slow this down. But if I calculate that 100,000, roughly 100,000, Hungarians have gone abroad [utazott ki], and five-fold this number came to Hungary from the Soviet Union, it is a very significant figure. It means, of course, that more have traveled in 1 year, or they have traveled on more occasions [as heard].

Apart from that, the use of Hungarian street names, the conscious extension of the teaching of the Hungarian language are initiatives that demonstrate the Leninist approach of nationality policy. I am convinced that this is a modern handling of the nationality problem within this country of very many nationalities, and from this viewpoint, it can have an exemplary value for other countries, too. [end recording]

'Brief Interview' on Meeting

LD0507195588 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 88

[No video available]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met members of the Hungarian colony at our embassy in Moscow today. It was here that we asked him for a brief interview.

[Unidentified reporter] For those looking superficially, two politicians rather similar in character met this morning at the Soviet party center, and while we were inside the chamber, our impression was that there could only be a complete unity of views. However, I suppose questions were debated, too, in the sense that there were things to discuss.

[Grosz] Well, above all, you honor me if you say that it seems that politicians of a similar character are meeting, because Gorbachev is a great personality and an outstanding politician.

Naturally, in an exchange of opinions which lasted more than 3 hours, there are also areas of questions in which unity or unity of perception is formed during the course of the conversation. The sizes are different, the stock of experiences is different, the historical past is different, and we are preoccupied with different problems.

[Reporter] Where are the differences?

[Grosz] In which spheres of questions are there differences? Well, primarily in the pace, the possibilities for the development of the economy. Within this, in the forms of cooperation: Those which may be built upon, those which would be effective, have not yet been perfected.

On international questions, I cannot name one single area in which our opinions differed. The internal political situation in general remains on the level of information, mutual briefing, and nobody takes it upon himself to evaluate the internal political relations of a fraternal country from outside. So, where we pondered and searched for more constructive forms, content was primarily in the area of bilateral cooperation.

[Reporter] Comrade Gorbachev, in his toast, referred to the existence of many bureaucratic obstacles. Did you speak about the economy having a certain priority today for us, but also for the Soviet Union? Where are the bureaucratic obstacles that can be dismantled in economic relations? In which industrial sectors or perhaps, in agricultural sectors?

[Grosz] I do not think that the obstacles can be divided into sectors. There are problems in the system. So, the obstacles must be removed really through the path of developing the contacts, direct contacts of enterprises, so the enterprises must be allowed to traffic directly with each other.

Now, the system, the structure, makes this possible in theory; however, in practice there are innumerable obstacles that restrict them. For one, there are the allocations that exist in the interstate agreements—there are several allocations; that is why I put it in the plural. Second, obstacles are derived from the mechanism, the diverse nature of the economic mechanism system. As a

consequence, if we do not work on the elimination of these, then in vain do the enterprises wish to work together—their interests will not coincide.

Today, for example, we talked very clearly about how, in what way, the ruble-dollar ratio, multiplying ratio, weakens, for example, the interestedness of one or another Hungarian light industrial enterprises in cooperation. We could talk about other, different such concrete questions.

I feel that we must move away primarily in those areas in which, at this moment in Prague, in CEMA, the premiers are holding talks. That is: The modernization of the economic direction system, the mechanism of interestedness, the financial mechanism is the path through which economic activity can be encouraged.

[Reporter] We here in Moscow, and many in Budapest, too, I think, believe that you are the first high-ranking politician who was able to have talks with Gorbachev after the Soviet party conference. What are your impressions? What is Gorbachev's frame of mind after a rather stormy and extremely exciting meeting?

[Grosz] Well, I, too, believe that I am the first politician, apart from Gorbachev having said this, too—I must believe him. Saying this in a Pest way, they would say he is on a high [fel van dobva]. The stock of experience of this great work is discernible in Gorbachev. The multi-colored character of this party conference is discernable. In the break, during his official speech, during the lunch, it was discernable all the way through, what an enormous experience this party conference meant for the leaders, how much strength and encouragement they received from it. Their conclusion is unequivocal; they formulated this very clearly. The party membership confirmed the road they had been following for 3 years, and it is impatient; it wants them to go forward even more bravely, more resolutely.

So, I feel that the Soviet leadership has been given an impetus from this conference. I feel that it received encouragement from this party conference, and it is resolute that it will go through to the end of its chosen way.

[Reporter] I feel that the Newsreel program viewers have been given a glimpse into the events of this day, which happened rather rapidly. Will the journey back also be on a scheduled flight?

[Grosz] Yes.

[Reporter] You know that this caused a great stir.

[Grosz] Well, I do not know why this caused a stir; this should not be given such significance. If a scheduled flight creates the conditions, from the point of view of the receiving country, for us to travel on that, then we will travel on that. If the receiving country prescribes at

what time we arrive, then we will travel on a separate plane. Naturally, where possible, we save, are thrifty, but this cannot be detrimental to the content of the work. At the next meeting, where I know that we have been given half-hour arrival times, we cannot go there on a scheduled flight, all the more because the plane which goes according to schedule and that which takes the delegations separately, do not land at the same airports. So, there is no need to make a big thing out of this. I hope this is not a sensation; this is natural. What can be saved, what can be used well, we do so, and what not—well, we adjust to the international order that has developed.

[Reporter] Thank you.

Gorbachev Remarks Cited

LD0507093088 Budapest MTI in English 0800 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 5 (MTI)—On Tuesday Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, laid a wreath at the wall of the Lenin Mausoleum and, accompanied by CPSU CC Secretary Vadim Medvedev, paid tribute to the memory of the leader of the October Revolution. Karoly Grosz laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as well. Later on the Hungarian-Soviet highest-level talks started in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee.

Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU CC general secretary, met in his work-room Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, who arrived in Moscow on a brief working visit on Monday.

In the first minute, when the journalists were also present, the two leaders recalled their talks almost a year ago, and the multilateral negotiations held since then. The Hungarian general secretary asked whether Mikhail Gorbachev felt very tired after the 19th CPSU national conference. "I will have a rest after perestroyka has been completed," the CPSU CC general secretary answered.

Gorbachev Speaks at Luncheon

PM0607103388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "Common Responsibility for the Fate of Socialism" and the headline "Speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] A luncheon was given on 5 July in the Grand Kremlin Palace by the CPSU Committee in honor of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Together with the leader of the Hungarian People's Republic were the officials accompanying him on his trip.

Attending the luncheon on the Soviet side were Comrades Gorbachev, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Medvedev.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a speech. He said:

Dear Hungarian friends, esteemed comrades: It is with great pleasure that I welcome to the Kremlin Comrade Karoly Grosz, who has come to the Soviet Union for the first time as general secretary of the MSZMP. He is known here as a principled Communist, an energetic political figure in Hungary, and an active supporter of Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

Our meeting with Comrade Grosz has taken place at an exceptionally important time for both fraternal parties and countries. The all-Hungarian party conference, that became in the estimation of our friends a crucial event in Hungary's life, was held recently. Having given a profound analysis of the course of social development, appreciated at their true value the results of many years of efforts to build socialism, and at the same time, having talked pointedly and on a principled basis about the serious problems that have arisen in recent years, the conference embarked on a course of profound changes in the economy and politics intended to give a new look, a new quality to Hungarian socialist society.

Many elements of those decisions that were adopted by the all-Hungarian conference are directly in keeping with, or have something in common with, the measures that are being taken here during restructuring. It is understandable that we wish our Hungarian friends from the heart every possible success in the implementation of their large-scale plans.

It so happens that Comrade Grosz's visit is taking place immediately after a major event in the life of our party as well. They say that great things are seen from a distance. But although only a few days have passed, it is already evident now what an important place the 19th all-union party conference will occupy in the history of our party and country, and in the revolutionary renewal of Soviet socialist society. The lessons of the past, the practical experience of 3 years of restructuring, have led us to the conclusion that the success of reforms in the economy, culture, and all other spheres in the life of society depends conclusively on how fully we manage to involve the broad masses of the working people in managing all state affairs, not paying service to but actually putting man in the center of social development. In other words, everything now depends on the need for radical reform of the political system, the correct demarcation of functions between the party and the state, which should result in the strengthening of the CPSU's role as the political vanguard of society, and the role of the Soviets as the representative bodies of people's power. This, briefly, is the crux of the issue that was facing the 19th

party conference. One can say that the conference gave a precise reply to this issue and armed the party with decisions having the nature of a program.

The results of the conference and some or other episodes in its work are being discussed in a lively fashion in our country at the moment. But most likely, both in the Soviet Union and abroad, such features as the free comparison of different views, the broad and principled discussion in which delegates representing the various detachments in our party took part, are being stressed in particular. This is one of the achievements of the glasnost policy that has been conducted by the CPSU since the April plenum, and alongside this one of the most important guarantees of the irreversibility of the restructuring process.

In the conversation that has taken place, Comrade Grosz told me that Hungarian Communists and the country's public are following the processes taking place here in the Soviet Union with affection and approval.

I have already had occasion more than once to say that we are not imposing our conception of the way to achieve renewal of socialist society on anybody. But the support of our friends strengthens our confidence in the correctness of the chosen course and imparts fresh energy.

Comrade Grosz and I have again reaffirmed the common approach of both parties toward understanding the basis upon which relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary, and those between socialist countries in general, should be built. This means equality and noninterference in each other's affairs, mutual aid and mutual benefit, independence, and common responsibility for the historical destinies of socialism. Such an approach makes it possible to find solutions for any problems that may arise in relations between socialist countries, to take account of the specific national features of each of them, and to create a sensible balance of their interests which cements these relations.

Guided by this, we have had a detailed discussion of specific issues of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, and we have reached agreement on the tackling of a number of tasks in the upcoming period. But our chief conclusion is that we can and should make much more effective use of the opportunities which both sides have. To this end it is necessary to remove all kinds of bureaucratic barriers which still hamper the development of our ties.

The deepening of production and scientific-technological joint operations is presently becoming a problem of particular importance. This issue goes beyond the limits of Soviet-Hungarian relations and is of significance for the whole system of cooperation within the CEMA framework. There are many component elements here, but the main thing is the formation of a common socialist market. The goal is not a simple one. We will

have to pass through a number of stages on the road to it, but the sooner we resolve the task, the greater the benefit that the national economy of every socialist country will receive.

The leader of fraternal Hungary and I have devoted particular attention to issues of developing relations in the sphere of culture and human contacts. At the moment, when the emphasis in both our countries is on imparting a humane face to socialism, the expansion of direct human ties acquires great meaning. It is in contacts of this kind, whether they are implemented on a business basis or simply on one of tourism, that the profound respect and mutual understanding without which there can be neither real friendship between peoples nor effective cooperation, is engendered.

We also highly value cooperation with Hungary in the foreign policy sphere. A firm and reliable mutual understanding on the key issues of the international situation has already existed for many decades between ourselves and our Hungarian friends. We cooperate closely in the context of the Warsaw Pact, and we are convinced that this will continue to be so.

One need have no doubt about this because we and our Hungarian friends, as well as the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, have common goals. These are, above all, peace in Europe and throughout the world, security of our countries, and stable development of international cooperation in the interests of solving the acute global problems which have confronted mankind in the present age. The world has now begun to gradually recede from the fatal verge of nuclear disaster: The four Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and the Geneva Afghanistan agreements all testify to the fact that the new thinking is gaining ground.

Two years ago in Budapest, the socialist countries launched an appeal for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today, this is one of the most burning problems and a most important condition for building a "common European home." I would like to repeat our belief: defensive sufficiency and a nonoffensive doctrine. There are no questions pertaining to the reduction of armed forces and arms on which we would refuse to hold talks with the NATO states. There are no "assymetries" to which we would not wish to seek a solution. Nor are there any verification measures which we are unwilling to discuss. It can be seen that in everything, we proceed from the principle of reciprocity and acceptability of all measures for both sides. There is no need to mention that this is both just and sensible. In general terms, the results of my meeting with Comrade Grosz create a good basis for the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary in international affairs, especially in the European strand of our foreign policy.

Allow me to conclude by stating that Soviet Communists and the Soviet people will continue to do everything to ensure that our relations with Hungary grow stronger and develop to the benefit of both peoples, the cause of socialism and peace.

With all my heart I wish you, Comrade Grosz, and the Hungarian Communists and working people, success in all your affairs and undertakings.

Grosz Address at Banquet

PM0607142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech delivered by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, at 5 July Kremlin luncheon in his honor under general heading: "Common Responsibility for Destiny of Socialism"]

[Text] Comrade K. Grosz's Speech [subhead]

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev!

Dear Soviet friends!

I thank the CPSU Central Committee for its invitation, which I have accepted with great joy. I convey to you greetings and best wishes from the MSZMP Central Committee and the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

My talk today with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, is a new and important milestone in the constant dialogue between our country and the Soviet Union. The political significance of our meeting is emphasized by the fact that it has been held in a period when changes and a breakthrough determining society's development for a long time to come are taking place in both Hungary and the Soviet Union.

Both our common and national interests and the new conditions of our headway demand the further development of internationalist ties between the MSZMP and the CPSU and the alliance of our countries. The attainment of this goal is promoted by the fact that we are working in a qualitatively new situation. After all, today the synchronization in our parties' thinking and actions is fuller and the interest in each other's successes is stronger than ever before. The members of our party and Hungarian society's progressive forces view the changes taking place in the Soviet Union as an example.

All this is a reliable condition to ensure that we continue to advance in improving the political infrastructure of our cooperation. We assess highly the fact that meetings at summit level are held regularly, that there are no questions about which we cannot speak frankly. The spirit of growing trust and mutual understanding should also exert beneficial influence on other spheres of our cooperation.

A measure of the effectiveness of the system of our all-around ties is the degree to which it promotes our development and helps us to keep in step with world processes. Emphasis is laid on economic and scientific and technical cooperation. The period under review became for us a trial, but it also enabled us to draw a whole series of conclusions. The coordination of interests, a good knowledge of the partner's market, and an all-around consideration of our needs and potential are an essential condition of mutually advantageous, lasting cooperation. Considering our conditions, we will continue to be interested in continuing deliveries of energy and raw material from the USSR at their present level and, moreover, in increasing them. At the same time, we treat with understanding the problems facing our Soviet friends in this connection. Together with this, an increasingly large part will undoubtedly start to be played by modern, science-intensive goods. Also, the place of the traditional exchange of goods will increasingly be taken by production specialization and sharing. However, so far we are only learning new methods.

Our peoples are increasingly linked by the Hungarian population living near the Soviet Union's western border, in the Carpathian region. We can say with satisfaction that Hungarians can live and work as equal citizens in the Soviet Union. They are receiving an increasing amount of aid for the development of their national culture and the conservation of their national features. All this serves as an example of the benevolent, humane solution of the vitally important question of the destiny of the peoples of central Europe living in close dependence on each other. We welcome this because we see behind this the CPSU's policy of renovation and a modern Leninist approach toward national relations.

Dear Comrades!

It is a great honor for me that my visit should have taken place immediately after the All-Union CPSU Conference. The Hungarian public followed with great attention the committed debates and public dialogue of recent weeks.

The party conference's portentous significance lies in the fact that it confirmed the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and that the party advocated the continuation of restructuring and democratization and the reform of the political system. Its decisions serve man. They create favorable conditions for continuing the reform of the management of the economy, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and improving the living standard, although we know that the main work is still ahead.

The importance of the CPSU conference goes beyond the confines of the Soviet Union. Having generalized the new national experience of Soviet restructuring—that large-scale historical undertaking—it enriched the innovative thinking of the socialist world.

Dear Comrades!

During the debates of the past 18 months, our party has looked realities in the face and reached the unambiguous conclusion that there is no alternative to the renewal of socialist society. We cannot resolve our problems by acting according to old schemes. Without changes, without renewal, we would be unable to preserve and augment our socialist values and the nation's self respect.

The MSZMP conference completed an important stage of a protracted historical process. It released a considerable amount of energy so that the Hungarian people can make better use of our society's humane values and intellectual potential. The time has now come for resolute actions. Only that can instill faith in our words and in our plans for the future. It is only thus that support for the course toward renewal can grow into firm social unity.

The main thing today is the economy. Our urgent task is to halt the crisis processes and to achieve financial equilibrium, and we know that our friends, allies, and partners expect this of us. Our tasks are clear. History gives us no choice other than the modernization of the structure, updating of commodity production, and dynamization of exports. While preserving the socialist nature of property relations, we are seeking the more open, more rational management of the economy. But the consolidation of discipline and improvement of organization, the restoration of the prestige of honest labor are already important resources for us today.

We can speak of a breakthrough only when the working masses take a real part in shaping policy. We are also guided by the idea of the socialist legal state when we improve our political institutions, differentiate between the work of party and state organs, expand citizens' rights, and conduct democratic dialogue with all strata of society. On this basis we intend to conduct an analysis of the history of Hungary of recent years and to define the avenues of our development. Our party is doing its duty as a component of this process and the leading force of society.

We have no illusions. We are faced with hard work, and we must also face conflicts. Lenin's words are a lesson to us: "But difficulty is not impracticability. Confidence in the correct choice of path is important, and this confidence increases a hundredfold the revolutionary energy and revolutionary enthusiasm which can work miracles."

Dear Comrades!

As a result of the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, tension is being reduced in the world and a favorable shift in East-West relations is visible on the horizon. The resumption of regular Soviet-U.S. dialogue has become a success of the new thinking. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe fills us

with hope, as does the readiness in principle of the Soviet Union and the United States to reduce strategic offensive armaments by 50 percent.

Hungarian foreign policy is aimed at the struggle for peace and security. We attach special importance to the USSR's proposals aimed at reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe and withdrawing troops from foreign territories. It is very important for us that Hungary has been among those countries which in the interests of and as a result of the accord will be the first to reduce their Armed Forces. We consider it important that the Vienna meeting ended with the adoption of a substantive, balanced final document.

We are taking an active part in improving the socialist countries' cooperation on the basis of the principles of autonomy, equality, mutual responsibility, and mutual respect. In the Warsaw Pact Organization, we attach great importance to coordinating the main directions of activity and using specific national potential.

We are deeply interested in restructuring socialist economic integration. Some 18 months ago, it was here in Moscow that the leaders of the CEMA countries' fraternal countries reached an important agreement in principle. The results of practical work, however, cannot satisfy us. On a bilateral or multilateral basis—even with the consent of a narrower range of countries—we could even now do more for the consistent implementation of commodity-money relations. From one day to the next, world economic realities serve as a warning to us. Nonetheless, we have no grounds for faint-heartedness. How we use our achievements for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the consolidation of our positions in the world economy depends on us. Thanks to positive advances in international politics, we can build our relations more boldly with all states and organizations of Europe and the whole world ready for cooperation.

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, I express the hope that you will soon pay an official friendly visit to our country. I ask you to accept our invitation.

K. Grosz wished successes to the CPSU and entire Soviet people in their historical restructuring; he expressed himself in favor of socialism and peace and wished health to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and the Soviet friends present here.

Holds Moscow News Conference

*LD0607154388 Moscow International Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] In Moscow today, Karoly Grosz held a news conference. He has been in the Soviet capital on a short working visit. Our correspondent was present.

At the news conference, Comrade Grosz started by briefly informing Soviet and Hungarian journalists of the results of his working visit:

[Begin Grosz recording] I would like to tell you that we held a very good-humored, valuable, and useful meeting this morning. I informed Comrade Gorbachev on the internal domestic situation in Hungary, the political circumstances, and relations that have developed since the party conference.

I was able to find out his opinion, too, his evaluation of the meeting which took place last week and which proved the values of perestroika before the general opinion of the whole world.

We held a consultation on our bilateral relations. We discussed which issues we must work on together to implement in the coming years. We also spoke about the timely questions of international life, too. [end recording]

Comrade Grosz answered many questions from the journalists. One question concerned the mutual connections between the radical restructuring underway in our countries, the deepening of cooperation between our countries, and CEMA's activities. Here is Karoly Grosz's reply:

[Begin Grosz recording] Yes, well, if a politician is not optimistic, he should resign. I hope that the benefit of this multidirectional restructuring will sooner or later bear fruit. The realization that change is necessary has nearly won through. Until it has permeated right through, we are convinced, we will be developing ways in which integration can be speeded up.

The Hungarian stance has been known for years. First, we placed it on CEMA's table as a secret document, and then we wrote it in the newspapers. We could not take part in open debate because they did not oppose our concept directly. We could not embark on anything with the response which we generally received. You can say roughly that the situation was not yet ripe for it. I hope that the situation will become ripe. [end recording]

The reporters said to Comrade Grosz that this is not the first time he has met with Mikhail Gorbachev, but now their names are mentioned together with the process of renewal in our countries. How do you see it, in which basic directions of the political and economic life of the two countries does renewal coincide? And if it does, then can all this be explained with objective or other reasons?

[Begin Grosz recording] I think its philosophy is the same. I have no right to gossip in such dear, family company, but maybe I can permit myself this much, after all. Comrade Gorbachev said today that in his view, the Hungarian search for a way is closest to the practice

now taking place in the Soviet Union: to preserve all that is valuable from the past and to discard all that is obsolete. There is much that is identical, even in the technological sphere.

Of course, there is a difference in that the CPSU came to this realization in 3 years, whereas we took 20 years.

Well, on our measures, economic potential, for example, we are not in the same category. [end recording]

The journalists asked Karoly Grosz for his opinion on the fact that MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is soon to appear in Hungarian.

[Begin Grosz recording] It is welcome, and we are pleased it is coming. There are many things which we can and should know about you. There are changes of historic significance taking place in the country, in the true sense of the word historic. I believe that the paper will help acquaint the Hungarian public with these changes. If it is of as high a quality in the future as now, then it will be gladly received by the Hungarian public. [end recording]

Karoly Grosz answered many other questions. There were so many questions that he could not even answer all of them and was driven straight from the press center to the airport.

Seen Off by Ligachev, Medvedev

LD0507180388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Today Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, left Moscow. At Shermetyevo Airport he was seen off by Ligachev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic, and Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR, were in the seeing-off party. The state flags of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport.

Supreme Soviet Congratulates Hungary's Straub

PM0107151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Jul 88 Second Edition p 12

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium election congratulations to Hungarian President Straub]

[Text] To Comrade Bruno F. Straub, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Esteemed Comrade Bruno F. Straub,

Please accept our cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election as chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

We wholeheartedly wish you great success in your responsible work in this high state post in the name of socialist Hungary's happiness and prosperity.

We are confident that the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to steadily develop in the interests of the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the triumph of the cause of peace on earth.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Hungary's Defense Minister Arrives in USSR

LD0407211588 Budapest MTI in English
1805 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 4 (MTI)—Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, arrived in Moscow on Monday evening. He was met at the airport by Army-General Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defence.

Gorbachev Greets LCY's Suvar on Election

PM0407134988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from M. Gorbachev "To LCY Central Committee Presidium Chairman Comrade Stipe Suvar"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Suvar!

Please accept friendly congratulations on your election as chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

I am confident that the consistent implementation of the fundamental provisions of the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in March 1988 will assist in further developing political dialogue between the leadership of the two parties and countries, strengthening the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding, expanding equal cooperation and the fruitful exchange of experience in socialist building, and increasing collaboration between the CPSU and the LCY and the USSR and the SFRY on key contemporary problems.

I wish you, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Communists, and all the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia success in fulfilling the tasks set at the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY conference.

With communist greetings,

M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

LCY Delegation Arrives in Moscow, Meets Zaykov
*LD0407233288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Belgrade LCY City Committee, led by Committee President Dr Rados Smiljkovic, arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of Lev Zaykov, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The delegation, which will be staying in Moscow until Saturday, was met by Moscow Gorkom Secretary Yuriy Karabasov. Also present to meet the delegation was Yugoslav Ambassador Milan Veres.

The City Committee delegation will meet Lev Zaykov later today.

Poland's Interest in Restructuring Examined
*LD0507044488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1445 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov; interview with Stefan Staniszewski, Polish Foreign Ministry press relations representative, by Yuriy Ulyanov in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Seyful-Mulyukov] What do our close friends think about the conference of Soviet Communists? Here is our Warsaw correspondent, Yuriy Ulyanov.

[Ulyanov] It would be no exaggeration to say that the Polish public has followed the work of the 19th party conference in Moscow exceptionally closely. How do you explain such great interest in our events, Soviet events? [video shows Ulyanov seated opposite man in office]

[Staniszeewski, identified by caption in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] In Poland, people have shown traditionally, and in the last 3 years especially, exceptional interest in the Soviet Union, and in particular in the changes that are going on in your country: restructuring, glasnost, and the new thinking in international politics. This follows from the fact that your great country has always been and is for us the main partner in all spheres. Apart from this, in Poland of late, great changes, which we call the policy of socialist renewal, have been taking place recently. The roots of reform in our countries have a very similar philosophical basis: the desire to build what is essentially humane socialism, the most optimal for our society.

Thanks to the new principles in Soviet foreign policy toward the United States, a turning point has been achieved in the disarmament problem. The treaty to cut nuclear missiles that was signed and then ratified in both countries became the first step on the path to complete disarmament in the future. This is a fact that we could not even dream about a few years ago. We believe that

the Soviet-U.S. dialogue that has embraced all the fundamental issues troubling the world public will sooner or later lead to mankind being able to sleep peacefully. This will happen thanks to the Soviet Union.

The genuine architect of this new politics is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who is extremely popular in our country, which is indicated eloquently by the public opinion polls that are conducted in Poland. If one adds to this the fact that we shall be receiving the Soviet leader here in Poland very soon, the particular interest in the conference that has just ended in Moscow becomes understandable.

During the visit by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I am sure the exceptionally positive nature of Polish-Soviet relations at the present time, and their fundamentally new partnership nature, will be confirmed. The forthcoming visit will indisputably give new impetus to the development of them.

The Soviet Communists' conference did not only confirm the correctness of the restructuring course that is being implemented but also gave it new strength. We are looking at the world today much more optimistically than a few years ago, for instance.

Paper Cited on Interview With Poland's Glemp
*LD2506230388 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT
24 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow, June 24—The NOVOYE VREMYA weekly has published an interview granted by Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp during his stay here at the celebrations of the millennium of Russia's baptism.

Asked about the state of current relations between Polish Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches, the primate stated that he could see possibilities of cooperation in issues of culture, faith and human rights.

Referring to the difficult period faced by Poland at the moment, Glemp said that Polish church also happened to play a very difficult role as believers often represented opposing political viewpoints. "Our stand is a stand based on the easing of acute conflicts, striving for agreement and helping those in need," he stated.

GDR Military Facility Replaced by Holiday Hotel
*LD0407083388 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT
3 Jul 88*

[Text] Berlin July 3 TASS—The trade union holiday hotel "Warenschhof" on the bank of Lake Mueritz, one of the most scenic lakes in the GDR's territory, has received today its first guests. Quite recently in place of that complex, there was a military cantonment for the personnel servicing Soviet tactical missiles. The missiles

were pulled out in keeping with the Soviet Government's decision even before the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Very little has left today to remind of the former military cantonment. Workers from more than 50 various plants—builders, servicemen of the GDR National People's Army, architects, artists, gardeners, and foresters saw to it that the new complex would best serve the needs of the holiday-makers. As Gabriele Brehest, deputy director of the holiday hotel, said, nearly 300 persons will be taken care of there in one shift.

On the opening day of the new resort, it was visited by Harry Tisch, member of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee, chairman of the Central Board of the Federation of Free German Trade Unions of the GDR, and General of the Army Heinz Kessler, member of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee, GDR national defense minister.

West Europe

Gorbachev To Visit Tampere, Finland in Oct

LD0107185488 Helsinki International Service
in Finnish 1500 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Text] According to sources in the Finnish Communist Party [SKP], CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev will be coming to Tampere at the end of October and beginning of November. The general secretary has expressed to his Finnish hosts his desire to have an opportunity to visit Tampere during his stay. Gorbachev will spend at least 1 day in Tampere, according to SKP sources.

FRG's Genscher Cited on CPSU Conference

LD0207174688 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT
2 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 2 TASS—In an interview with the Deutschlandfunk, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, has stated that the discussion being held in the Soviet Union now is an important contribution to

securing that the process started at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the efforts aimed at making Europe better and safer lead step-by-step towards specific results.

I believe, Genscher went on to say, that Mikhail Gorbachev was right when he said in his speech in Murmansk that a truly revolutionary process was launched, and that the All-Union Conference of the CPSU indicates how thoroughly the Soviet Union's position is being analysed and the search for ways to improve the position is being conducted. This virtually means a continuation of the process of liberalisation in the home and foreign policy. I believe we in the FRG, in the European Community and in the Western alliance should analyse the development of the process since Mikhail Gorbachev's advent to power. In my speech in Davos I already called for a serious attitude to Mikhail Gorbachev but representatives of the West criticized me at that time arguing that all those were only words, and no deeds.

I think, the vice chancellor of the FRG said, that such opinion is erroneous and that deeds followed the words, which can be confirmed by examples from foreign policy. Therefore the West should answer this question: Does this development of events meet our interests? And the answer can be unqualified 'yes'.

I hold that liberalisation of the home policy in the Soviet Union likewise meets the interests of the West because the Soviet Union pursuing a policy of liberalisation may become more understandable to us, a more predictable and more constructive partner in the cause of establishing a European peace order as well as cooperation in the policy of security which, due to a new qualitative level, should render wars in Europe impossible forever. Virtually, Genscher emphasized, the point now is that we should do everything within our power to accelerate the started dynamic process in West-East relations and to make use of it so that the process of drawing West and East closer together would develop into an irreversible process of strengthening stability in Europe.

Political & Social

Troops Intervene in Yerevan Demonstrations 5 Jul

Stepanakert 'Swept by Walkouts'

LD0507123888 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Upon their return from Moscow, Armenian delegates to the recent national Communist Party conference made televised statements in Yerevan. They called for restraint and prudence in a search for the ways to solve the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region. Earlier, Nagorno-Karabakh's government body appealed for annexing the autonomous region from Azerbaijan and for unifying it with Armenia.

Many Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh launched strikes in support of this appeal. The Moscow-based daily IZVESTIYA writes that many plants and offices in the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, Stepanakert, are swept by walkouts; but agricultural works in the regions continue.

The parliament of Azerbaijan decided that the appeal to unity the autonomous region with Armenia was ungrounded. In this connection, the head of Armenia's government body, Grant Voskanyan, suggested that Nagorno-Karabakh should be placed temporarily under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation.

Yerevan Airport Scene Described

PM0607092788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablunyan report: "Yerevan, 5 July"]

[Text] Just as happened yesterday, a number of industrial enterprises in the city are not working or only part of the collectives is working. I find it difficult to give a precise figure inasmuch as the discrepancy in the figures is too great, and obtaining authentic statistics is also difficult because some people are leaving the shops while others are returning. In short, you don't know what is going to happen from hour to hour.

Going out to Zvartnots Airport, I noticed unusual crowds of people at its entrances. There were even more passengers and people come to see them off in the air terminal building itself. The information boards are not operating—literally all departure flights have been cancelled. Consequently there are no arrivals either. To be frank, it is unbearably painful to see the passengers suffering, particularly children and women forced to wait in vain for long hours stretching into whole days and nights. There is hardly any need to say that it is also difficult for those experiencing the same discomforts in other airports around the country. It is unusual to put these bitter words on paper but, unfortunately, one has to.

Protests Disrupt Yerevan Airport

PM0607084988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

["Own Information" report under the rubric "Stop Press": "Yerevan, 5 July"]

[Text] Rallies began here again last Saturday. The demands of their participants have now taken the form of ultimatums. Unfortunately, the strike call was supported.

A banner with the demands of the rally was hung in a prominent position. Here are some of the points: The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast should be removed from the Azerbaijan SSR in accordance with the resolution of the oblast soviet session; a political assessment of the Sumgait tragedy should be made; the trying of cases should be transferred to the highest court—the USSR Supreme Court....

On Monday morning certain enterprises in the republic were not working. Someone shouted to those gathered in Yerevan's Theater Square: "Let's blockade Zvartnots Airport." A large column of people headed off down the road and soon filled the airport.

"A meeting of the collective had to be called," S. Fadeyev, chief of the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration Political Department, said. "Of the 15 subunits only 1—the aircraft servicing works—supported the strike idea."

"I believe that closing the airport would be a rash step," G. Abramyan, duty electrician at the airport, said.

The demonstrators who gathered at the airport prevented people from working normally. Planes could land but not take off. A large number of passengers built up at the airport. The rally participants blatantly violated order at the airport. Measures have been taken to restore the normal flight services.

Other Activities Disrupted

NC0607070888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 6 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper carries an ARMENPRES report that on 4 and 5 July, large groups of people, who had participated in meetings in Yerevan, blocked Zvartnots Airport and the roads leading to it. They demanded that the airport collective stop working. After the collective refused to accede to their demand, the groups of people penetrated into the operations building of the air terminal, paralyzed its operations, and caused the safety of flights to be put at risk.

Meanwhile, attempts also were made to interfere with the operations of the Yerevan railway junction, the (?conduct) of trade, and other spheres of life of the population. The situation that was created required the intervention of the forces of public security and order. There are victims. The prosecutor's organs are conducting investigations.

Troops 'Stormed' Demonstrators

LD0607082288 Hamburg DPA in German 0739 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet forces of law and order yesterday evening stormed Zvartnots Airport on the edge of the Armenian capital, Yerevan, which had been occupied by demonstrators for 2 days. The Armenian Foreign Ministry confirmed this by telephone today in response to an enquiry. There were casualties on both sides who "will perhaps die or survive in 2 days", we do not know yet, announced Armenian Foreign Ministry spokesman Stepan Vartanyan. Human rights circles in Moscow today said soldiers carried out the action. [passage omitted]

According to the Armenian Foreign Ministry, the demonstrators forced their way into the air traffic control buildings. According to PRAVDA, aircraft were still able to land, but not to take off. "The demonstrators have crudely violated order at the airport." Measures were then taken to restore order. The Armenian Foreign Ministry said negotiations were not successful in convincing the demonstrators.

According to human rights circles, more than 40 people were "seriously injured." There is also talk of deaths. Information so far is incomplete. The demonstrators had defended themselves strongly and had overturned two of the soldiers vehicles, the Strike Committee reported from Yerevan. They have decided to continue the strike today and to stay at home.

Perfilyev on Airport Events

LD0607102688 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev at today's briefing replied to questions about the latest events in Yerevan.

The deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate said that on July 5 more than 400 people had assembled within the building of the Yerevan Airport while another 1500 people had gathered outside it. They impeded the sale of tickets and the collection by passengers of their luggage, ventured out onto the landing strips, prevented passengers from entering the terminal and paralysed the work of the dispatcher services.

For an hour representatives of internal security troops used loudspeakers to persuade these people to leave the building of the terminal and finally forced them out of it. "They were forced out but there were no clashes or fights", the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

All this happened at a time when the overwhelming majority of the airport staff had no intention to discontinue work, he went on. The idea to strike was supported only by one department out of 15.

The people who were evicted from the building of the airport behaved disorderly throwing bottles and rocks at law enforcement officers. As a result 36 persons had to seek medical assistance.

"The rumours that an Armenian was killed are groundless", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "What happened was that a man was hurt as a result of hooliganism in the town of Masis. He was taken to hospital on the same day and died there. But this man had nothing to do with the events at the airport".

Armenian Cited on Deaths

AU0607073788 Paris AFP in English 0733 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 6 (AFP)—One or two people were killed when violent clashes broke out Tuesday between demonstrators and armed security forces at the airport of the Armenian capital, Yerevan, local officials said Wednesday. An Armenian interior ministry official contacted from Moscow by telephone said the number of dead was "less than three." He refused to be more specific.

However, a spokesman for the Armenian nationalist movement, Koren Nagapetyan, said in Moscow that three demonstrators had been shot dead and 37 others hospitalized after the clashes between interior ministry security forces and demonstrators occupying the airport.

Yerevan airport has been closed to air traffic since Monday, when groups of Armenian demonstrators went there to "stop military reinforcements arriving." The Communist Party daily PRAVDA said Wednesday that "measures" had to be taken to restore order at the airport.

Government Denies Casualty Report

AU0607091488 Paris AFP in English 0907 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 6 (AFP)—A Soviet Government spokesman denied Wednesday an earlier report that up to two people were killed in clashes Tuesday between demonstrators and armed security forces at the airport of the Armenian capital, Yerevan. But he said 36 people were injured in the violence. He added that one person had died of wounds Tuesday in hospital in Masis, just

south of Yerevan. Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perflyev did not specify the conditions under which the person who died in Masis was wounded.

An Armenian interior ministry official contacted by telephone earlier said one or two people were killed in the airport fighting. However, a spokesman for the Armenian nationalist movement, Koren Nagapetyan, said in Moscow that three demonstrators had been shot dead and 37 other wounded.

Mr. Perflyev told a news conference here: "More than 400 demonstrators" occupied the airport while "another 1,500" gathered outside. Yerevan airport has been closed to air traffic since Monday, when groups of Armenian demonstrators went there to "stop military reinforcements arriving." The Communist Party daily PRAVDA said Wednesday that "measures" had to be taken to restore order at the airport.

Demonstrations Spreading

AU0607125188 Paris AFP in English 1236 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 6 (AFP)—Troops intervened in Armenia for the first time in four months of unrest to break up a protest Tuesday by some 2,000 people that has paralyzed the airport of Armenia's capital, Yerevan, a Soviet Government spokesman said Wednesday. Thirty-six people were wounded as armed Interior Ministry forces, facing rock and bottle-throwing demonstrators, moved in to clear Yerevan airport, Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perflyev said.

But he denied a report that up to two people were killed in what a local official called violent clashes and the Government spokesman termed "disorders". Residents of Yerevan said Wednesday they were observing a "dead-city day" after the incident. Meanwhile, demonstrations which started late Sunday and turned into a general strike Monday had now spread to other Armenian cities, they said.

The movement came after delegates returned from last week's special Communist Party conference in Moscow with no answers to Armenian demands that the mainly-Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh be detached from the republic of Azerbaijan and reincorporated into Armenia. Thousands of demonstrators marched Tuesday from downtown Yerevan to the airport to back militants who had brought air traffic to a halt since Monday, Yerevan residents told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. More than 400 demonstrators were occupying the airport buildings, while more than 1,500 were gathered outside, the Government spokesman said.

After an hour of unsuccessful negotiations, Interior Ministry forces, comprising conscripts from all parts of the Soviet Union, moved in as protesters threw bottles and stones, he said. Some 36 people were wounded, he said.

Among the injured were members of security forces, the Armenian Communist Party newspaper KOMMUNIST reported in its Wednesday edition.

Armenia's public prosecutor has opened an enquiry into the incident, the newspaper said.

It termed the airport demonstrators "trouble-makers rallied by irresponsible people" during earlier demonstrations at Opera Square. Many young "hooligans" joined in. Various officials had appealed to them for moderation.

Igor Muradyan, former member of the dissolved Karabakh nationalist committee, said organizers of the Yerevan general strike had also called for calm. Mr. Muradyan said Wednesday's "dead-city day" was decided at a rally Tuesday night after news of the airport violence emerged. However most speakers had criticized the "adventurism" of militants at the airport, he added. He also said a there were report in Yerevan that a youth had been killed by a bullet in the neck and another had been seriously wounded in the violence at the airport.

An Armenian interior ministry official implicitly confirmed this, telling AFP that "less" than three people had been killed. The Soviet Government spokesman however denied any deaths, but said one person had died of wounds Tuesday in Masis, just south of Yerevan. He stressed the death had "no connection" with the airport incidents.

Although few airport workers took part in the strike, according to the Soviet Communist Party newspaper PRAVDA, no flights will be going to Yerevan until Thursday, airport officials in Moscow said.

Residents in the Armenian capital said "armed forces from the Interior (Ministry)" were sent to Yerevan before the special party conference, in which far-reaching Soviet political reforms were adopted. One of the strike committee's five demands, the residents said, is for the removal of these troops.

Armed forces also were ordered to the Armenian capital during the week leading up to March 26, when huge demonstrations were planned. Residents backed down and called a "dead-city day" as a result.

Arutyunyan Cited on 13-15 Jun Demonstrations

PM0107151888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 26, 26 Jun 88 p 11

[Gevorg Oganessian report: "The Destiny of Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia"]

[Text] On June 15 the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR adopted a resolution in favour of making the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region (NKAR) part of Armenia, in accordance with Article 70

of the USSR Constitution on the right of nations to free self-determination, and also taking into account the request of the Armenian population in NKAR and Armenia.

Meetings and demonstrations, which essentially haven't stopped since late February, flared up with renewed force in Yerevan three weeks before the session. The situation was normalized after Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, spoke on June 13 to people gathered on Teatrnaya Square. However, the day the session opened, the city looked troubled again—hundreds of thousands of people came out onto the streets, and the building where the deputies were gathered was guarded by extra militia and by troops. As with previous meetings in Yerevan, there was no real need for security forces—the cordons were removed soon.

By noon the deputies, fulfilling the mandates they received from the voters, considered the question on Nagorno-Karabakh—the February 20 application of the emergency session of the regional Soviet of the NKAR for the transfer of this region from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic approached the USSR Supreme Soviet with a request to consider and make a favourable decision regarding the question of the NKAR. It also approached the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, expressing hope that this decision would not violate traditional good-neighbourly relations but be received with understanding by the Azerbaijanian people.

"As you can understand, this isn't a decision which concerns only us," said Suren Arutyunyan, speaking at the session. "You see, we live in a multinational country and we are far from indifferent to what response this decision would cause in the minds and hearts of the USSR nations. Each nation has democratic constitutional rights. We understand that the Azerbaijan SSR also has a right to its own opinion, but we'll be very sorry if it doesn't coincide with ours."

Hundreds of thousands of people who gathered on June 15 at the building where the deputies were sitting in session demanded that the latter fulfil the mandate and adopt a resolution condemning the pogroms staged in Sumgait late this February.

The deputies came out to the people, some making it perfectly obvious that they were not prepared for a free dialogue. But the majority of the deputies were unanimous when voting—a resolution condemning the pogroms was adopted. The Supreme Soviet of Armenia expressed deep condolences to the families and relations of the dead.

The hunger strike and the sit-in demonstration by students on Teatrnaya Square in Yerevan were stopped on the evening of June 15. Hundreds of thousands of people went back home.

The people of the Republic accepted Suren Arutyunyan's speeches at the session and at the meeting with the demonstrators in Yerevan. Many believe that the deep-going processes taking place today in the USSR might finally reach their Republic and raise the social and political activity of the people. Such activity is necessary to combat the corruption and poor economic management which has caused ecological problems and stagnation in cultural life.

Azerbaijan's Tatliyev on Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis
PM0107152088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 26, 26 Jun 88 p 11

[Report on interview with Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, by Asim Dzhazhilov: "The Destiny of Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan"; date and place not given]

[Text] On June 17, a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR unanimously approved the resolution of the Presidium not to accept the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

However, we must say here that it was not a full parliament. Nine out of 10 deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh were absent, as they said they would be.

Our own correspondent in Baku approached Suleyman Tatliyev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic:

"The session's resolution was an answer to the NKAR from our Republic to the Armenian SSR. The adoption of the document was preceded by a whole series of events. Events in Nagorno-Karabakh, which echoed in Yerevan, Sumgait and Baku, in a way so uncharacteristic of our Soviet life, indicated that international relations had become seriously deformed in the stagnation period. These events, I'm sure, are connected with the accumulation of unsolved social problems, bureaucratic distortions and heightened tension among antisocial elements resulting from this. In a number of cases, I think, we didn't show enough political tact, nor develop the culture of international contacts sufficiently. Sometimes not enough toughness was exercised, for fear of touching the national feelings of some officials in the region, who simply trampled over the ethics of inter-national associations. And we cannot deny the fact that some leading party, governmental and economic figures in the NKAR helped incite nationalistic frenzy and then called for a struggle to achieve illusory goals.

"During the critical days there was relaxation, slowness and underestimation of events on the part of certain people in Republican and regional organizations."

[Question] What exactly guided the session when it made its decision?

"We were guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, by Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to the working people, to the people of Azerbaijan and Armenia, and by the party and state documents adopted in connection with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. We were guided by realities that have been shaped historically, by the concept of preserving national-territorial patterns in the country—fixed in the USSR Constitution, and, in particular, by the need to preserve the territorial integrity of the Azerbaijan SSR."

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[Question] How legal in this case is the resolution of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet to consent to the inclusion of the NKAR into that Republic?

"When we made the decision, both at the session of the Presidium and at the Supreme Soviet session, we were acting in accordance with the provisions in Article 78 of the USSR Constitution [footnote: Article 78 of the USSR Constitution says: "The boundaries between Union Republics may be altered by mutual agreement of the Republics concerned, subject to ratification by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."] and in Article 70 of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, which state that a Republic's territory cannot be changed without its consent. It is interesting that this article of the Constitution comes from the very treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It automatically guarantees the inviolability of the territory of any Union Republic."

[Question] How did the people of our Republic accept the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR against transferring Nagorno-Karabakh?

"With satisfaction. The decision was unanimous and it objectively reflected the sentiments of the people, of our entire nation which had delegated to the Republican Parliament representatives of 11 nationalities and ethnic

groups. The 17 Armenian delegates who attended the session, and who represent other districts of the Republic, also voted in favour of the decision."

TV Report Views Life in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0507193488 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1747 GMT on 4 July 1988 carries a 90-minute program entitled "Four Days in Nagorno-Karabakh", presented by Political Observer Viktor Beketov and with the participation of Doctor of Juridical Sciences (Boris Mikhaylovich Lazarev), departmental head at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; Doctor of Economic Sciences (Leonard Aleksandrovich Kozlov); chairman of the Council for the Allocation of Production Resources attached to the USSR Gosplan; (Aleksandr Ivanovich Mukoyed), head of the Territorial Planning Department and member of the collegium of the USSR Gosplan; and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences (Zhan Terentyevich Toshchenko), faculty head at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Beketov opens the program by explaining that it covers events in Nagorno-Karabakh 17 through 20 June 1988. He says: "We did not set out, however, to record a chronicle of events. We were much more interested in lively, frank conversations with the local population—the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. We wanted, with their help, to gain a deeper knowledge of the causes of the events which have unfolded, a knowledge of what lies in the minds and hearts of the people of Karabakh, and whether this intolerance and bitterness will last much longer. I hope that the material we have filmed will assist to some extent in illustrating and supplementing the serious and concerned discussions at the 19th party conference on the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh, and in a wider sense, also on the problems of inter-nationalities relation."

There then follows video of peaceful streets in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, interspersed with film of a demonstration passing through the streets. The participants are holding banners and chanting "Lenin! Party! Gorbachev! police in riot gear and soldiers are shown standing nearby. Beketov says: "On nearly every corner, in the squares and open areas, there are groups of militia and patrols of soldiers in protective jackets and holding shields. What has happened in Stepanakert? And in the whole of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?"

An interview follows with G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh obkom. He says: "The situation in the oblast is very, very serious. A situation has occurred in which the masses have gotten out of control. The obkom does not now control events, it must unfortunately be admitted. The masses have taken on a method of forceful pressure on the Government, that is, by means of pressure they are trying to force the issue, as they say, and achieve its resolution. We certainly do not

approve of such a method. We consider that it is essential to place the demands of the people in a more democratic form, as they were in the beginning of the movement. That was in February, in the second week or so of February, everything began here, somewhere around 13 or 14 February. And so to bring the demands for a resolution of the matter to a dimension of democratic forms. Well, everything has now become a lot more difficult. As you know, the oblast economy has been undermined, industry has been undermined—agriculture is working in a more organized fashion and with greater precision. The main thing now is to regulate these links, to restore a working rhythm at the enterprises, and to continue to raise the matters which are raised by the people. It is on this aspect that the obkom committee is working, but for the moment it has to be admitted, unfortunately, that our successes are very, very small, insignificant."

The program moves on to provide shots of closed factories, buses standing idle, and empty construction sites, and then to a meeting at which Beketov speaks to a group of striking workers. He says: "I quite often have occasion to visit enterprises, to ask about how work is progressing, how the plan is being fulfilled, how the quality of output is being raised, and I have to say that for the first time in my life I have found a factory that is not working, where there is a strike under way. This is quite an unusual word for us, and for this reason I would like to ask in greater detail: what brought this strike about? What are its specific plans and goals? Who is coordinating it? Who is regulating this process? That is, tell me your views, your attitude. What did you want to tell people by doing this?" A caption states: "Meeting with leaders of industrial enterprises of Stepanakert."

The following exchange then takes place with R.S. Kocharyan, secretary of the party committee of the silk combine.

[Kocharyan] "The strike cannot, of course, be a source of pleasure for any of those present here. We are leaders here, and each one of us bears personal responsibility for the state of affairs at the enterprises. In this case the strike occurred as a forced measure, as an action in response to a decision, which is in our view, in the view of the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh, unjust. That is, the people embarked on this measure following numerous appeals to the central organs, literally all of them, an enormous number of letters and telegrams, delegations, meetings at the most various high levels, and, by the way, following a session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies which had given an unambiguous reply on the question of joining Nagorno-Karabakh with Soviet Armenia."

[Beketov] "Do you set any deadline for the strike?"

[Kocharyan] "No one is setting any deadlines. You could get the false impression that someone is regulating the strike, someone is setting specific deadlines for staying away from work or for returning to work."

[Beketov] "But how are we to understand this unanimity and this organization in the strike? It can't be the case that everyone just got up and went out. Clearly, there were some actions which led to this."

[Kocharyan] "We have been reproached for organizing this for 5 months now. It seems to me that, on the contrary, we should be praised for the organization that our people have shown, and this organization does not lie in any violations by groups of people, it lies, probably, in the 1,000-year history of the people, in the culture of the people. Probably this matter has to be examined from a different point of view."

[Beketov] "You are leaders of production. There are also working people whose well-being depends to a considerable extent on their daily wages. If they bring their wages home, they're all right, if they don't, then they're not! This must have a very strong effect on wages, they've lost them. What do they think about this, and don't they raise these matters with you?"

[Kocharyan] "We recently held a meeting, on the 13th. I put this question. The reply was unambiguous—we will stand while we have the possibility of existing."

Another of the leaders at the meeting, A.M. Manucharov, director of a construction materials combine, goes on to recall the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on the question of joining the oblast with the Republic of Armenia. He quotes Lenin on the question of self-determination, and wonders why it is that the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has chosen to ignore the question of joining the oblast with Armenia. Beketov raises the question of the economic damage that is being inflicted by the strike. Kocharyan denies that it is a question of damage, rather a matter of output which has not yet been supplied. B.V. Dadanyan, general director of a transport association, goes on to explain how the strike is likely to affect his own transport sector.

Beketov then puts another question: "But the events which are taking place in your oblast, and which are resulting in such large losses, running to tens of millions of rubles, and moral losses, are controlled; they depend on us. So doesn't it seem to you that, even in this situation, in these circumstances, some influence has to be brought to bear in the direction of attenuating this calamity?"

The question is answered by M.M. Mirozian, head of a transport column, who says: "This is not the first time this question has been raised. It was first raised in 1946, in the 50's there was a wave, in the 60's it was raised again, a draft decree on resolving this matter was even prepared, then it was suppressed, then in the 70's another wave. So don't be surprised, comrades, that we have raised this matter today—today. It has become pressing now, there's nowhere else to go now. It's become pressing. And a situation of irreconcilability has come about. You see, it's not the leaders, not any group of

people, it's the whole people. Of course, I don't mean 100 per cent of the people. There are Armenians who are, in the circumstances, are against, but the whole people, in the main, take account of the factor that they can't go on living like this. That's what restructuring is for, let's restructure ourselves, what are we afraid of? For 70 years we've been afraid of speaking the truth. We were afraid to speak the truth to Stalin. I agree with the view of (Robert Setrafovich). Stalin's mistakes cost us 20 million lives, trillions of rubles in resources, and almost half of the primary resources of our state. Technical mistakes led to Chernobyl, I don't know how many lives were lost there, but the sum was quite considerable."

The following discussion ensues:

[Beketov] "Your workers not only include Armenians, there are also Azerbaijanis, who clearly don't share this point of view, and who cannot go without their wages just because you are pursuing other aims. What's to be done in this case?"

[Dadanyan] "This is how we act in these cases. No one prohibits those Azerbaijanis, unlike in Shusha, where Armenians are banned. Armenians are banned from Shusha and they are driven out of the town. Here, we never have applied, and do not apply, any violence or any illegal acts with regard to persons belonging to the Azerbaijani nation. Any Azerbaijani can go to work, and can work as though there were nothing going on. The strike which is under way among the Armenian part of the population in no way concerns the Azerbaijanis. And the majority of the Azerbaijanis are working at our place; even now they are working, and they are getting wages that are even higher than usual."

[Beketov] "I can't understand that—how can they work if the factory is standing idle, if the machine tools are standing idle, and if all of the machinery is, so to speak, out of action, what can they do?"

Dadanyan points out that he was speaking of his own transport association, and the matter of industrial enterprises is taken up by Kocharyan, who says: "At the present time, indeed, they aren't working, neither the Armenian nor the Azerbaijani parts of the population. But I would like to say that, for example, at the Karabakh Silk Combine, the strike was started by the Azerbaijani population."

[Beketov] "What demands were they making?"

[Kocharyan] "Well, when we raised the matter of unification with Armenia, they said quite clearly that they wouldn't work for Armenia. And while we were holding meetings in the town, they stayed away from work. So you can't make the division quite so bluntly as you are doing."

[Beketov] "But still, what are the prospects of this strike? I don't believe that nothing depends on you. Frankly, I don't believe it."

[Manucharov] "If the issue is resolved justly, we'll go back to work, and I can promise, on behalf of my comrades who are present here, on behalf of the whole of the working people of the oblast, that within a short time we'll make up for everything that has been neglected. Only by way of a real resolution of the issue."

The program moves to Stepanakert station, where rolling stock is standing idle. Beketov interviews E.A. Shazadov, the station master, who outlines the situation at the station in the recent period, noting that 70 percent of the stoppage in unloading wagons began on 21 May, and that, since the enterprises of the oblast had not been working during this period, 170 wagons had accumulated at the station awaiting unloading. He goes on: "Our collective understood that if the railway station came to a standstill it would lead to a standstill in the transport artery, which covers the whole of the country. Well, they understood this, they organized work in such a way that we shouldn't have a stoppage. They called the collectives together, explained things, went round people's houses, and in the town and among the population of the town and of the oblasts. They explained everywhere: comrades, your products, your food, everything around you, all of this comes in on the railway wagons, and so we consider it inexpedient; and they understood us and supported us, and for this reason there have been no delays on our part, our staff have understood, and in the town too, they have assisted, so that the station could function".

Beketov's next visit is to the oblast statistics administration. There is film of empty desks and keyboards, the last entry on one of the sheets bearing the date April 88. He interviews Yu.G. Davidyan, head of the administration, who says that, in the main, those enterprises connected with the provision of services were functioning—the bakery, the meat combine, and the milk combine. In spite of the empty desks, he insists that the statistics administration is still working. He concedes, however, that no records are kept of the wage losses being incurred during the strike, simply because the state records make no provision for strikes.

The program returns to the studio, where Beketov asks Mukoyed to give his views on what he has heard. He rebukes Kocharyan in particular for his assertion that it was not a matter of damage but of output not yet supplied. He says that the issue cannot be reduced to a local matter, and that disruptions in the oblast economy could lead to similar disruptions in the economy of the republic as a whole and beyond the republic, citing individual examples of how stoppages at particular enterprises in the oblast have a domino effect and result in difficulties for other enterprises and sectors of the economy outside the bounds of the oblast itself.

Kozlov goes on to cite the example of how a hold-up in the production of condensers can affect the production of television sets and in turn affect the trade network. Lazarev then takes up the legal aspects of the strike, saying:

"We have no law on strikes, and I think it is clear why. Such events in our country are isolated and exceptional. There are no legal norms for strikes in any of the other legislative instruments. But we have general norms of the Constitution and labor legislation, and in accordance with Article 68 of the USSR Constitution, all able-bodied citizens are obliged to work and observe labor discipline. But here, we are dealing with a mass absence from work by completely healthy men and women, and of course, such behavior has to be seen as a deviation from the requirements of the Constitution. That's the first point.

"The second point is that, as we have already seen here, at a number of enterprises or in individual workshops, persons of Armenian nationality have to work with those of Azerbaijani nationality. Absence from work on the part of persons of Armenian nationality can hinder the normal work of the Azerbaijanis, and thereby prevent them from fulfilling their constitutional obligation to work. This is indirect obstruction of the fulfillment by other persons of their constitutional obligations. For this reason, although the legislation contains no direct prohibition on strikes, nevertheless such behavior on the part of the strikers is at variance with the Constitution."

The program then shows a recording of a meeting in a park in the Azerbaijani town of Shusha between Beketov and a gathering of the town's inhabitants. Beketov opens proceedings by contrasting the optimism and friendship he finds even in parts of the country where people have to cope with difficult climatic conditions with the downcast mood of the people living in the beautiful surroundings of the town of Shusha, and asks why this should be the case. R. Yusupova, a teacher, says:

"How can we smile when we have lost our friends? These friends have been taken away from us, not by the people themselves, but by certain extremists—you can't call them anything else. These extremists should, of course, have been removed from their posts long ago, those who sit at the head of the people. But the people, of course, are not guilty of anything; the Armenian people, I mean, nor are the Azerbaijani people. They have always lived in friendship, they have continued to live in friendship, and even at the present time this friendship has not been completely upset, it hasn't completely disappeared.

"But there's one thing that surprises me: the appeal by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, as it were, upset this friendship even further, it was inappropriate. Everything was going fine, it seemed to everyone that everything was in order, everything was

clear, but this appeal made the situation even worse, and at the present time we are, of course, all upset, and as you can see, we're dissatisfied with this."

Yu. Agayev, a lecturer at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, then says: "We have lived together for thousands of years, and we will always live together. No one will divide us, that's impossible. And suddenly, in 1988, something happened which we never expected. I'll tell you briefly. On 6 June 1988—I and my students in the Azerbaijani sector will never forget it, I've never seen such an outrage anywhere, I haven't even read such things in the newspapers,—suddenly a whole people attacks students and teachers: get out, you swine! Get out, you rabble! Get out, you animals! And about 5,000-6,000 people attacked the institute. It was at the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, and involved teachers at the institute. I never expected that our teachers would organize the students to attack our students. They drove us by force out of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, named after the 60th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan. I have never seen anything like it. We even wanted, seeing how nasty the situation has become in Stepanakert, to study in Shusha. The teachers at the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute and the rectors said: You can't study on the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast. We said we would only study on the territory of the oblast because we are the oblast, we are from Nagorno-Karabakh, and we'll study in Shusha."

There then follows a conversation between Beketov and a young man in the crowd who says there is no need for a separate oblast, that Nagorno-Karabakh should be a rayon with Stepanakert as the rayon center:

[Beketov] "What are you going to with the majority of Armenians who live on the territory of the oblast, then?"

[Man] "There are not many of them. You can say we are nearly equal.

[Beketov] "What do you mean equal? There are statistics which say clearly that there's an overwhelming majority of Armenians."

[Man] "That's not right. There are people, if you check, there are people registered in the oblast, but they are not here, they are in Yerevan, or in some other oblasts."

As the crowd becomes more animated, Beketov asks what is to be done. A young man who has been following the conversation intently takes the microphone and solemnly declares: "Me no speak Russian." The microphone is seized from his hands, and a teacher expresses his support for the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and for Gorbachev's appeal, condemns those who whip up strife among the nationalities and calls for peace and friendship.

Doctor of Historical Sciences M. Gaidarov then takes the microphone, and after generalities concerning the nature of restructuring, says: "The causes are clear, and it is clear who is guilty, and power has to be used. Democracy is not anarchy. Those actually guilty have to be exposed, so that they can be sentenced—let the Government or the party decide what it should be. Measures must finally be taken, otherwise people think they can do what they like, so power has to be taken." Beketov breaks in, saying: "The proposal has been made to eliminate the autonomous oblast altogether. What do you think?" The crowd begins to chant "That's right! That's right!" Gaidarov replies that the issue is very complex.

Beketov then puts another question: "Comrades! Now imagine that you and the Armenians are agreed on one point—let Moscow decide the whole thing. But two completely opposing decisions have been made, not even proposals, but decisions, by the Supreme Soviets of the republics, yours and that of the Armenians, yes? Completely opposing decisions. How much wisdom is Moscow supposed to have in order to find a resolution which might satisfy both you and the Armenians? So let's look for ways to do it."

A man described in a caption as a driver speaks; his wife is Ukrainian; his son was astonished at the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, and could not believe that "these Armenians that we have lived closely with for 70 years could have done this"—he does not say what. "I just want to say that when Comrade (Vezirov) spoke to the demonstrators on the 13th, then we knew a bit about justice, because they had always heaped all the blame on the Azerbaijanis. The propaganda and the television all showed one and the same thing, as though we Azerbaijanis were to blame for everything." He says the Armenians were dishonest when they left—they all claimed to have had deaths in their families. They are all beginning to return, very quietly now, but nobody knows what happened to the Azerbaijanis who, the driver says, were "driven out of the Armenian SSR". He says that he does not agree that the oblast should be joined with Armenia.

A teacher speaks about the bad effect of the local troubles on the minds of children. She thinks that humanity will prevail in the end. She says she is an Azerbaijani.

An unidentified man says it is the Azerbaijanis who are supposed to be big hearted all the time; the others should be asked why they are doing what they are doing, he says.

Raykom Secretary R. Mukhtarova says:

"I am a worker in the party raykom, and our buro of the party raykom calls on the leaders of the oblast to normalize the situation in Stepanakert and in the oblast. We want to live closely together, as ever, and to work at our workplaces".

There is then a discussion as follows:

[Beketov] "They say that the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom is not obeying, is demonstratively ignoring the decisions of the Central Committee of Azerbaijan. But do you subordinate yourselves to the party obkom?"

[Mukhtarova] "No, because it is not a party-like decision, a party way, a party stand. And so, when they stick to the party way, we will subordinate ourselves to them."

[Beketov] "But who decides if it is in the party style or not—you, the party raykom? Or have you received recommendations from the Central Committee?"

[Mukhtarova] "Oh no, we decided for ourselves".

Beketov addresses children in the crowd; a boy says they want to be friends with the Armenians, but the extremists from Stepanakert must be stopped, and it is up to the Armenians to make the first friendly move.

The scene moves back to Stepanakert; Beketov visits the silk works and talks to half a dozen of the women who work there. Whatever may have happened in Sumgait, says the first of them, they have always got on well with the Azerbaijanis as neighbors and workmates. Both she and another woman say they cannot understand why the Azerbaijanis have run away. They are sorry not to be working, but feel the strike should go on until the right decisions are taken; they will catch up on the backlog of work later.

In the studio, (Lazarev) gives the constitutional position on some of the suggestions that have come up concerning the elimination of the autonomous oblast or its unification with Armenia. Neither of these options can be accepted without the agreement of all parties concerned.

(Toshchenko) says he is surprised at the intolerance that has shown up in the film clips; mutual understanding and mutual respect among peoples are the only foundations that can be built on, he says. He is also shocked at the intolerance shown by children, as they cannot judge things properly for themselves and their futures as citizens will be affected.

Beketov recalls that the party conference could discuss the formation of some sort of committee on nationalities problems; (Lazarev) feels that some kind of official body for the topic would be useful.

Next, Beketov goes to the Stepanakert House of Political Enlightenment, and interviews a woman identified by caption as A.M. Mikaelyan, secretary of the party obkom, and a man who appears to be editor of the oblast newspaper, standing at the entrance of the building. The following discussion takes place:

[Beketov] "The rain that was pouring down drove us under the cover of the House of Political Enlightenment. And that was very appropriate, since we were to be talking to the chief ideologists of the town and oblast. I have been thinking about the role of our ideology, what colossal efforts we have made over 70 years in order to strengthen (?this role), what a big material base has been founded for ideology in our country—you have television, you have newspapers coming out, you have had this luxurious building—I think it is the best one in the town, the House of Political Enlightenment. How much there is, what an enormous base, what immense experience there is, but, as we can see, the ideology is in a wheel-spin, [word indistinct]. Ideology is not working, a new ideology is emerging which often takes the masses with it, without having any basis for this, and without the experience. What would you have to say about this. Why has our ideology not worked in this case?"

[Mikaelyan] "The fact is that the years of stagnation also had their effect on ideological work. We felt (?the phenomena) in all spheres of our lives, including the spiritual sphere. In this situation, which the country knows as the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, we have reviewed our attitude to ideology, and have reckoned that the previous forms of work (?are not justified here). We have drawn closer to the masses. We have started to speak more resolutely and boldly about the truth, however bitter it may be, and to this end we have used every means of mass information, every form of ideological work, and we have made particularly energetic use of vigorous work with the masses. We have drawn closer to the places where people live, we have visited families, we have talked to people heart to heart. And this has had a positive effect on people's moods and on the authority of ideological work. I think that in this situation we feel prompted to continue this work and [words indistinct]."

[Beketov] "You know, it is not only the official workers of our ideology, so to speak, who are visiting people, visiting families and houses, but also those extremist forces which have brought all these events about, caused all these demonstrations and protests. Evidently, you have not visited (?some families) enough, or started visiting them too late. So it seems to me you need to review the situation more self-critically, what do you think?"

[Mikaelyan] "Quite true. We started visiting families too late. We party workers were somewhat alienated from the people's masses, and so when we realized our mistake at a certain stage of our work, we involved broader masses, agitators, and political information workers, simply people whom the people respect, regardless of whether they are political information workers or agitators, people who are worthy of respect, whom the people trust and listen to. And this has had a positive effect."

[Beketov] "How does this positive effect show itself?"

[Mikaelyan] "Well, first and foremost we have been able to stabilize the situation, since the situation was very complicated and extreme. In the past 5 months there has not been a single instance of law-breaking on the territory of our town, the oblast center of Nagorno-Karabakh. That goes to show that people are composed, that they are aware, that they understand the responsibility of the moment and that this could be of harm to restructuring and democracy. And everyone from Karabakh lives with the dream, with faith in restructuring, because it is these conditions which are deciding the destiny of our whole people, whether there is to be socialism or not".

Beketov then turns to Mikaelyan's companion, who says his paper has been trying to convince people that the strike is against their interests. He also says that the paper will print an article critical of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet decision on keeping the oblast as part of the republic. He thinks that the people really want to go back to work, but are afraid their problem will be left unsettled if they do so; if they felt that the issue would be kept open, they would go back to work the next day.

An open-air mass meeting is shown in progress; the crowd are chanting rhythmically "Perestroyka, Gorbachev", and are addressed by people standing on the flat roof of a one-story outbuilding next to the area where they are assembled. The following is said:

[Man on roof] "(?The population) of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia have understood and have adopted an appeal to Comrade Gorbachev. They have got to the heart of the matter, and they express their gratitude for the attention shown by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. We still hope for a just solution to our demands."

[Woman on roof] "The people of Karabakh, our proud little people, will not lower their head again until there is a just decision on the handover of Karabakh to Armenia. Then we will go to work, in three shifts and without days off."

[Old man on roof]: "...that Moscow should not put off the taking of a most important decision for our little people, the problem of solving this problem. [as heard] Why, one wonders, is Moscow putting things off? Why do they sometimes ignore us? We must demand, all together, that there be a reply to our question: when will it be solved? [words indistinct]."

In the next section of the film, as a woman described by a caption as Zh. G. Galstyan, Azerbaijan People's Artist, is shown addressing the crowd in Armenian and leading it in a chant of "separation" [andzhadum]; shots of crowd chanting this fade to another of the crowd chanting "perestroyka".

Beketov has a meeting, in what seems to be the seating area of a theater, with a group of about 10 people, captioned as "Meeting With the Intelligentsia of Stepanakert". He asks Galstyan if people leading demonstrations are aware of the responsibility they bear, since passions aroused in a large crowd can easily get out of control.

Galstyan says that, to begin with, the things they are saying to the crowd are not their own words, but an expression of the desires that the people have had for decades. He continues: "And secondly, if we were not to consider our words, I can assure you that the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh are also a Caucasian people, with the same temperament and ardor as the Azerbaijani people, and there would be from our oblast just one response to these—I cannot find an epithet to explain these actions in Sumgait—here in Nagorno-Karabakh. And it is this responsibility which compels us to say the words, and constantly remind people about alertness, to constantly say, to hold people back from—excuse me, but I think they are natural, primal, instinctive steps, actions similar to those that happened in Sumgait.

"This is especially so since in the main the people who suffered in Sumgait originated from Nagorno-Karabakh, and here among the people you saw at the meeting there are many whose parents, brothers, sisters have been killed in the most bestial way, the very people who in general were the builders of Sumgait. And in fact the greatest responsibility that we bear is to be able to hold people back from steps to take retaliation—I repeat once again, natural steps in retaliation. At least in the first stage, while a person realizes how much is possible and how much not. And I think we have coped brilliantly with this.

[Beketov] "Aren't you afraid that this process might get out of control? So far you are keeping it in hand, so far all these thousands of people are responding not just to your merest word, but to the intonation and everything. You are in control of the process. But it could suddenly arrive at such a state of electrification and heat that it will break out and go in the wrong direction. That is something that might happen."

[E.Ye. Gazaryants, composer, identified by caption] "Excuse me, but I think that if there are provocations like in Baku today at the congress...

[Speakers, interrupting] "...at the session...

[Gazaryants] "The fact is that we are putting forward not a nationalities problem, not a territorial one. We are putting forward first and foremost the problem of guaranteeing the right to our, our own, Armenian... our national dignity".

Beketov repeats that the process could get out of control, and is interrupted by Galstyan:

[Galstyan] "Well, we hope that the Central Committee will help us. It seems to me, all the same, that it will understand that, in general, the way out of the situation that has come about is not the one whereby even these two sessions, with the permission of the Central Committee, of both republics can in general take the issue into a legislative blind alley. That is what has happened today, it is a legislative blind alley, in the framework of our Constitution. We hope that, in general, the 19th party conference will be able to throw some light on it, and we think that, in general, all this will be done to reassert the keystone of the Leninist nationalities policy.

[Beketov] "Doesn't it seem to you that you are not offering any alternative? Doesn't it seem to you that it is not only you who now find yourselves in a very difficult position, but also the organs that have to solve this problem? When there is just one option, a maximalist one, and there are no other options, it is very difficult to resolve.

[Gazaryants] "Why, what are the grounds suddenly for such sympathy, and unashamed sympathy at that, for the Azerbaijani people, for the Azerbaijani side by the center, Moscow? After all, we have been standing idle for 5 months now. Surely it cannot be that there are no clever people in our country who could sit five Armenians down on this side, and five Azerbaijanis on the other side, and on the third side, so to speak, sit down Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians."

A woman named in a caption as A.M. Makhitaryan, candidate of psychology, comes in to say that she has 4 sons who are not easy to control, particularly when they see how a family from Sumgait that is lodging with her family is suffering.

Beketov asks Galstyan if she has anything to say in conclusion.

[Galstyan] "I want to say that the alternative option is not the one that they have just come to, but our party obkom has addressed the Central Committee with this alternative as the only acceptable one and the only possible one in this extreme and complex situation. That is, putting it simply, it goes something like: it is not in our favor or yours for the time being, until this situation stabilizes and is brought back to normal, until people manage to get back into the normal run of things; we should be subordinate to Moscow for the time being".

Back in the studio the following discussion takes place:

[Beketov] "It seems to me that in the previous clip and in this one, we have one thing linking them: we have come up against the ideological aspect of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Toshchenko] "Sad as it may be, I have to say that the ideologists, from the scenes that we have watched, have demonstrated their total bankruptcy, a lack of skill and

knowledge. I am not saying, perhaps, in the whole set of these causes... I would not like to use harsher words, but I can say, quite responsibly, that they have suffered a political fiasco. Can we really talk about ideological work, about party workers in general, when the leading people of the two republics do not greet each other at official meetings? What kind of example is that for their peoples? For their Communists, their parties? it is another problem, a problem where, behind the trumphy of very fine words, the essence of the matter is forgotten. I would like to pose the issue like this: unification in the name of what?"

[Beketov] "Unification of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia?"

[Toshchenko] "Yes, unification, reunification. What for? So that the people should not be deprived of taking part in power, the people should have their language, their culture, and preserve their traditions. Who is against that? No one. That is, in these polemics, the aspects of the content recede, and the forms come to the forefront—unification or not. But in the name of what? This point is forgotten, it is the form that comes to the fore—As a philosopher, too, I can talk about the form and the content, but for me it is the content that is important. Here nothing is being said about the content, and in that context, we cannot agree with the issue being posed in a way that it is the form—of course, in general it does have much importance, but all the same, the primary significance is that the honor, dignity, and glory of the people be preserved: their language, culture, participation in socio-political life, lack in restriction in feeling that they are representatives with equal rights, like other peoples.

"And so, the attempt by my colleagues—I call them my colleagues, even though I criticize them—have, as it happens, demonstrated their bankruptcy. They, too, have followed the line of form, the line of playing up certain points, but they have not elucidated what it is that lies behind this issue. And when we look at it in this plane, it turns out that these issues are provided for in principle. There remains, of course, the important point, the issue of form, but it is not such as to be put to the fore, to the detriment of the content, taking into account the damage to what makes up national sovereignty".

Beketov is shown talking to Pogosyan again, standing outside the obkom offices:

[Beketov] "I see signs in three languages, Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani, at the front of the oblast party committee. Well, this is not just a tribute to [word indistinct], evidently a lot depends on a person's nationality. His views and his actions ultimately depend on this to a large extent. But the party obkom, the composition of the oblast committee, or rather the oblast party organization, includes both Armenians, they are in the majority, but there are also Azerbaijanis, there are Russians, and so on. You are the first secretary, the leader of

the oblast party organization, and evidently you have to keep to an objective and impartial position in this issue. Do you always manage to do this, as an Armenian by nationality?"

[Pogosyan] "In general, I would approach this issue from some distance away. The situation at the moment is such that an outsider's view might be that the friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples has been destroyed for centuries to come. I am not so pessimistic. I think that, of course, substantial damage has been done to the friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, but the people have the characteristic of self-cleansing, and of course, all this that has piled up will pass, and friendship will be restored, to the delight of both peoples. What is going on at the moment is, for the most part, of course, the fruit of provocative action by individual ideologues, both on the Armenian and on the Azerbaijani side.

"As far as the party organization is concerned, naturally, some division is sensed between the Communists of Azerbaijani nationality and the Communists of Armenian nationality. Whatever the case, the apparatus of the oblast party committee is trying to be objective in the relations with Communists of both sides. By the way, the overwhelming majority of Communists, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis, understand this point, and are directing their efforts toward correct arrangement of mutual relations between the two nations. Well, you know, of course, I am an Armenian, and I have certain national feelings of my own, there are certain emotions, but there is also the party line, which the oblast party committee is bound to adhere to, and we do adhere to this line. In any case, we try, we try very much, to be objective [words indistinct]."

[Beketov] "I would also like to ask: every day, according to a strict timetable, there are demonstrations and meetings going on here. We have filmed them and watched them, and we were surprised at the precise organization of this process. But you know, so far, in these last days at least, we have not seen party leaders at the rostrum of these meetings. What is more, we have sensed a certain, so to speak, reservation even, about getting involved, so to speak, in this process. Is that right? After all, it is at these meetings that the public mood, public opinion is formed, to a large extent. Should you avoid such a way of talking with people, and should you keep to such a neutral position regarding this process?"

[Pogosyan] "Well, to begin with, your observations are not quite accurate. The Communist leaders do go to the meetings, and do speak at the meetings. In no way must we avoid the meetings and participation in discussions with the masses. But our experience of work over 4 months shows that we achieve the greatest effect in work with small groups of workers, Communists, with small groups of representatives of the masses. There we get a dialogue, and we achieve certain accord on many issues. But at the meetings, we do try to take the initiative into

our hands sometimes; so far, we are not very successful in this, but I think that in general, most often things are tending in favor of the party organization."

[Beketov] "You are displaying optimism. What about the prospects for the development of your oblast, and of this problem in general?"

[Pogosyan] "I believe that in the main political issues of the democratization of society and the total restructuring of the country, the CPSU Central Committee is following the path of the absolute and total restoration of the Leninist principles and norms in all issues, and hence in the nationalities issue. And I believe that all the issues of relations between nationalities that exist in the country will be solved, and the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh will definitely, in this context, find a solution".

The program winds up with a few words from each of the studio panel:

[Beketov] "And to finish with, literally, a few words from each of the commentators. What is the main conclusion you would draw from all you have seen and heard?"

[Lazarev] "Well, listen here, I think that if we recently, the Soviet Union, achieved important accords with the United States, then I think that two Soviet republics will be able to reach accord and remove the tension that has arisen in connection with the problem of Karabakh, and the friendship of peoples will be restored.

[Kozlov] "I, too, of course, would like these two peoples to realize that the methods which they are using to try to settle the conflict are not suitable, both the Sumgait events and these strikes in Stepanakert. This does not improve things, does not bring closer a solution to this complex and contradictory issue.

[Mukoyed] "They must resume work and hold a dialogue in a calm and businesslike atmosphere, looking for the right solution.

[Toshchenko] "There can only be a solution by way of mutual accord, by looking for it, respect, by recognition of the other's view, the other's approach, the skill to make concessions, the ability to understand, to work things out in just one direction.

[Beketov] "That is, as in my family, and we view our common home of peoples as a single family, in any family, compromises are necessary".

Beketov speaks, alone in the studio: "May I say a few words as an epilogue. This program has reflected just 4 days in the current life of Nagorno-Karabakh. But the events and problems that have arisen in the small autonomous oblast have been disturbing the whole country for several months now. And it is difficult to agree

with the comrades from Stepanakert who asserted that Moscow all this time has not been doing anything to put the situation to rights. Very many efforts have been and are being made.

"The Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet and the Government have repeatedly examined issues connected with the situation in the oblast. A number of important decisions have been adopted, aimed at rectifying mistakes made there in past years, and at restoring the Leninist norms of the nationalities policy. Of particular importance are the Politburo decision of 21 February and the joint decision of the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to speed up the socio-economic development of the autonomous oblast in coming years. A number of important issues in the sphere of the economy, education, culture, and inter-nationality relations have been settled. Hundreds of millions of rubles, quite a lot of construction materials, manufactured and food goods have been specially allocated to Nagorno-Karabakh.

"In brief, Moscow, and the whole country with Moscow, has not for a moment forgotten about the people and problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. This was spoken of with concern and even anxiety from the rostrum of the 19th party conference. Now the time has come for sober analysis and constructive conclusions on the part of the people of Karabakh themselves, both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. It is with hope for the triumph of common sense and of traditional, good relations between these peoples that we would like to conclude today's discussion. Goodbye."

Estonian Popular Front Figure on Program
PM3006164988 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET
in Swedish 28 Jun 88 p 6

[Report on undated interviews with Estonian Popular Front founder members Edgar Savisaar and Rein Veide-mann: "The Popular Front's Radical Program"]

[Text] On the eve of the 19th party conference, which begins in Moscow today, hopes are running higher than ever in Estonia and in other Soviet republics, too.

The Popular Front, an open organization founded in April which supports perestroika, has, through numerous newspaper articles, meetings, demonstrations, and a program declaration on the eve of the party conference, helped to activate the Estonians and fill them with enthusiasm.

I met one of the founders of the Popular Front, sociologist and researcher Edgar Savisaar, a few weeks before the party conference began, before the Popular Front's mass meeting at the song festival grounds took place, before party leader Karl Vaino was forced to resign. The radical cultural periodical VIKERKAAR, in which he

has written provocatively on the subject of the "continuing revolution," about nationalities issues, and advocated economic independence for Estonia, has also been a forum for Edgar Savisaar.

"The Popular Front is a movement which has arisen totally spontaneously," Savisaar said. "There are around 100 support groups around the country. Every day new people are joining the Popular Front, which has now (the beginning of June) collected around 25,000 members.

"Up to now our people has not had the opportunity to participate in politics 'as a people.' Politics has been the concern of small groups. But through the Popular Front, the possibility of political activity which people want to exploit is being opened up."

[Nordgren] Does this mean that the party has been set aside?

"By no means," replied Savisaar, who was careful to stress that a large number of those who took the initiative for the Popular Front are themselves Communists. Savisaar thinks that the Popular Front is continuing and supporting the perestroika initiated by the party. It perhaps looks as if the Popular Front might compete with the party and the soviets, but one of its slogans is: "All power to the soviets."

"We are striving to activate the work of the soviets," Savisaar said, "by keeping them under surveillance. I stress that the Popular Front's main task is to look after and defend the interests of the local population and awaken people's capacity for initiative."

[Nordgren] Could you therefore say that the Popular Front is the people's response to perestroika?

"Yes, that's probably what it is about," Savisaar said. "In his book, Gorbachev said that perestroika started from the top and must be given support from below. The Popular Front is precisely the means by which perestroika is supported from below."

Savisaar also said that, to begin with, the Popular Front mostly attracted the so-called intelligentsia, older and middle-aged people. Recently the workers have also been showing interest in the Popular Front, as has a small section of the Russian-speaking population.

"Up to now support from the young has been modest, but this could be due to the fact that we are too moderate," Savisaar pointed out. There are also some extremist groups, including MRPAG (which has the publication of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact on its program) which have not sought contact or cooperated with the Popular Front.

"The Estonian people are calm and moderate," Savisaar said, complaining that the extremist groups have been given disproportionate publicity.

"Even a while ago, people thought that the causes of the present crisis in the Soviet Union were to be found some 15 years back in time, but now people have realized that they can be traced all the way back to the twenties. The center of gravity in the process of change currently taking place has shifted from the economic aspect to an emphasis of the democratic aspects. In his speech last February, Gorbachev also placed more emphasis on democratization than on the economic issues," Savisaar said.

"But," Savisaar said, "there are in our society those circles which derive greater benefit from a status quo, and it is important to note these. Also the badly handled nationalities question has led to a situation in which the party leadership considered it advantageous to keep the Russian-speaking population in the dark about what is happening in the country.

"The changes here in Estonia have three main aspects," Savisaar said, "changes in economic thinking, the stress on democratization, and changes in the thinking of various stagnation groupings."

[Nordgren] What do you expect from the party conference?

"Despite the fact that the election of the delegates to Moscow took place in the old atmosphere of stagnation, we do have perestroika forces included among them. We are expecting much of the Moscow conference."

Edgar Savisaar has also been a member of a planning group which has drawn up the guidelines for Estonia's economic independence. Much has already been written about this plan, which builds on three points, Savisaar said.

"First, we are calling for an end to the practice that the Soviet republics produce goods which are then sent to the center for further distribution. The Soviet republics must be given the right to distribute their goods themselves at prevailing prices and engage in the exchange of goods between themselves. Second, we need the cleanup of the large number of enterprises at the federal level in Estonia which are subject to the central direction of Moscow.

"Since we are now striving to take over responsibility for the whole of our economy, it is also natural that these centrally directed enterprises, which represent all of the republic's production potential, should be brought directly under the control of the republic.

"Also we want to create independent export contacts and substitute money for the quotas of meat and milk to the Union."

[Nordgren] Should you leave the Union of Republics?

"That is by no means the issue. We want to act as an example for the other republics in the democratization process. At the same time as the Popular Front was formed, similar popular fronts were formed in the rest of the Soviet Union, in Moscow, Leningrad, Omsk."

"Uutmine" (perestroika), "isemajantus" (economic independence), and "rahvarinne" (popular front) are thus the slogans in today's Estonia. During my visit to Tallinn, I did not fail to meet Mr Perestroyka, Rein Veidemann, VIKERKAAR's chief editor and a member of the committee which drew up the Popular Front's 10-point program for the Moscow conference.

"The general principle is that the Popular Front articulates the will of the people, checks on the work of the representatives, and takes part in legislation. The main theme of the subsequent sections of the program is ethical, that is, that people should become political animals, politically active. Up to now, the people have been confined under a political boycott," Veidemann said.

"As people become political subjects, their self-esteem grows. Even now we are noticing what enormous power resources there are hidden amongst the people, and these are beginning to emerge.

"In addition to the Popular Front's attempts to achieve an economically independent Estonia, we are stressing the cultural aspects, that is, the continuity of Estonian culture and also the cultural rights of the minority peoples. This includes an important element affecting the Russian minority group, which is the biggest of all the minority groups in Estonia. It is about time that the Russians here began to think of themselves as Russians living in Estonia and not as representatives of a federative chauvinism.

"As far as schooling is concerned, we stress the opportunity for each person to receive education in his own mother tongue. Specialized education and higher education should also take place in the mother tongue.

"One point is to do with health care, for Estonian families are very sickly. So here we are proposing radical change in health care. For young people, we are proposing a youth popular front, and we also point out that young people should start taking part in political life as early as possible—and not just political play.

"As far as the Popular Front's relations with other organizations and movements are concerned, we stress wide-ranging cooperation. Our relations with professional organizations and the Komsomol are also important. You could say that here the Popular Front functions as both litmus paper and catalyst.

"In several cases, the Popular Front has already forced Estonia's Communist Party to engage in self-criticism and to realize its own shortcomings.

"Finally, we stress the Popular Front's future. We are trying to foresee the future, and we see the Popular Front as a part of a future society—an embodiment of pluralism and consensus. Nor can it be ruled out," Veidemann concluded, "that the Popular Front itself could form various groups and factions. For it is the Popular Front's central task to lead Estonian society to a new democratic and socialist level, make Estonia into a state built on the rule of law. Here the Popular Front's program is fully united with that of perestroyka," Veidemann said.

Veidemann also pointed out that these are not the beginnings of an opposition party, but that the Popular Front would work alongside the Communist Party.

Veidemann, who is also a member of the party, also said that the reputation of the Estonian Communist Party should be restored. There are plans to convene all the Soviet Union's nationalities later this fall or next winter to a general meeting, at which each nation will have equal representation. For it has emerged that it is not the economy which is the most important thing, but the internal relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"On this point," Veidemann continued, "the Party in Estonia has been wrong, precisely because it has separated Estonians and Russians. The Russian population has actually been manipulated for 40 years. During the time that we have belonged to the Soviet Union, Russian immigrants have come here in the belief that they have brought everything good with them—socialism, culture—while everything that was here before their arrival is of no value."

This cultural gulf between Estonians and Russians must therefore be bridged, Veidemann said. There are examples of Russian immigrants who have lived here for decades but who have never had any close contacts with Estonians. We have to start discussing things with each other, Veidemann said.

Rein Veidemann himself bubbles with optimism and he rushed off to a meeting of the Artists Union. The various movements—including the greens—that have arisen in Estonia recently have a very political role in society at present. A large part of the initiative seems to lie with the people, and this could mean major changes for Estonian society.

Readers Appraise Nationalities Issues

PM2806100188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 2

[Ya. Mustafin review of readers' letters: "Yes, We Do Need One Another..."—boldface passages as published]

[Text] Letters making comments. Letters making confessions.... From all corners of the country. Written by people of different nationalities. Almost all writers back my

article "We Need One Another" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 11 February 1988), approve the newspaper's stance, and ask it to continue to consistently report and, most importantly, to reveal the nature of the nationalist and chauvinist relapses which have taken place recently.

Here is what alarms the letter writers: How have we arrived at such a state of affairs? Perhaps for many years we have secretly nurtured hatred for one another and concealed our injured feelings in order to give them completely free rein in a revolutionary period, at a time when it seems that the sun of truth has dawned and Soviet people, after the bitter years of silence, are talking aloud about conscience, about democratization of society, and about breaches of legality, when they have a sense of their own dignity and when it appears that all they have to do is work and live like human beings?

Despite the overall positive response from readers, I would like to begin this discussion with a letter from V.L. of Novosibirsk, who categorically rejects my point of view. The writer is evidently some 40-42 years of age. He writes that he graduated from technical college in 1961. The letter oozes frank hatred for some peoples and assertion of his own people's superiority and contains even an attempt at some "philosophical" justification of this stance (the letter runs to 16 pages). But where did the reader acquire such views and sentiments? I cannot imagine that his parents raised him this way.... I have no hope of being able, even in a one-on-one conversation, to make him change his mind or help him cast off his primitive extremism. You can only pity someone who has spiritually robbed himself and persuaded himself that he does not need other peoples and that his life would be even better without them. Nevertheless, I would like to make such people give some thought to the supreme creation of Nature, which has adorned the earth with thousands of peoples and tribes. Even if only one, even if only the smallest of peoples were to disappear, mankind would be immediately impoverished spiritually, morally, and materially, and would right away regress.

The letters from Dm. Dazhik, writer S. Telnyuk of Kiev, postgraduate student T. Yergeshev of Kiev, M. Belalov (Ufa), M. Mametov (Novorossiysk), and other supporters of restructuring—with their joyous perception of a world now rid of the blindness and deafness which were our accursed ailment for many years and prevented us from freely and optimistically looking at the world without being afraid of violence or spiritual impoverishment—give rein to a desire to see and perceive the world in a new fashion.

The letter from pensioner N. Sokolova of Moscow profoundly touched my heart. She sent a parcel to a young woman in Ufa who had found herself in trouble. This is how she ends her letter: "...sending what I could. So much for my internationalism."

I will make no secret of the question people ask me: "And what about your own internationalism?" A question asked by everyone of everyone else, at all times. It made me look back over my entire life. Be that as it may, let me try and answer it. 1958. Ufa. I overheard someone in the trolleybus saying that the university had not enrolled someone who had passed all examinations but was severely handicapped. He proved to be Nikolay Nikiforov, a Russian guy. I wrote an article in BASH-KIRSKIY KOMSOMOLET entitled "Nikolay Nikiforov Must Study." Now he is a candidate of sciences. 1966. Semen Kurilov from Yukagir brought to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Publishing House the 30-page manuscript of what he described as a "novel." Being the editor, I was entitled to reject it. But, having read these 30 pages at home and having heard the plot outline the next day, I took the risk and included the nonexistent manuscript in the plan. I think that anyone could imagine the storm that descended upon me. But the book was published, and Yukagir's first prose writer gained worldwide recognition. And those who had "beaten and thrashed me" forgot the unprecedented occurrence.... 1969. ROMAN-GAZETA. I was fortunate enough to edit M.S. Shaginyan's "Four Lessons From Lenin." By a later twist of fortune, I really ended up on some red "carpets." And by the way, the censorship remarks were also in red: "sedition" after "sedition." As an editor, it was my duty to remove the "politically indifferent" passages. I categorically refused, being convinced of the absolute party-mindedness and truthfulness of what was written. It is really not worth raking up the past. But since then, this publication has served as a canon.... I performed these actions not in an outburst of desperate courage, but simply because my soul rejected injustice.

This idea runs through many letters. It can be sensed that readers enjoy the opportunity to openly express their ideas and their attitude toward the past, the present, and the future. But why make a secret of the fact that there are some letter writers who probably want no enlightenment and miss the "iron master" who always **correctly thought on their behalf**. Could this be due to the fact that sorrow and misfortune passed them and their relatives by? But how is it possible to contrive to overlook the tragedy that befell the whole people? "What are the repressions in 1948-1949 of which Mustafin speaks?", A. Vorobyeva from the Crimea asks in perplexity. Judging by the tone of her letter, her amazement is sincere. Holy simplicity! Holy? "Why rake up the past?", she goes on. This is how "simple" it is to protect spiritual tranquility. But at what price? When, at long last, will we all give voice to our compassion for the multiplicity of innocents who were repressed and killed? Is it an expression of a humane and civic attitude to consign to oblivion the martyrs, our own compatriots? "Why did Mustafin keep silent at the time?", A. Vorobyeva asks in her attack.

I can say this: I did not keep silent. On the contrary, all through my life I lauded the genius of the leader and sang: "The people are writing a wonderful song about Stalin, beloved, wise, and adored." And that was not all.

Together with my classmates, while still in the 4th and 5th grade (it is terrifying to even recall this!), we diligently looked for abusive words against our beloved Stalin in the young Pushkin's curls or in the mane of Prince Oleg's horse printed on our exercise book covers. And what was even more terrifying was that we actually "discovered" evidence: We earned praise for this and later on, probably due to our "vigilance," some people ended up in the back of beyond.

It is not so hard for my generation to feel not guilty—after all, we were children. But I do sense an inexplicable feeling of guilt. It does not leave me in peace.

Nowadays, in some strange fashion, the obvious opponents of restructuring and its proponents at times seem to stand together. I attribute this phenomenon to the fact that a society accustomed to thinking and acting according to instructions "from above" cannot, of course, suddenly reject compromises and this, in my view, stems from lack of confidence in the strength and irreversibility of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost.

Special mention must be made of the constructive letter written by engineer G. Shuktomov of Tambov, a Komi by nationality. He perceives the following as one of the decisive causes of the occurrence of nationalist outbursts: "...the main culprit of the emergence of nationalist sentiments and national conceit is our centralized administrative edict system of management, which has been taken to absurd lengths." The correctness of this idea is confirmed by events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait. The CPSU Central Committee had to issue an address to the people and the leadership of the two republics before certain social questions were resolved. And how many more deep-rooted and most complex problems exist which cannot be solved by any slogans, appeals, or circulars from Moscow. And the dilettantish advice and recommendations by some people not to disrupt the externally auspicious and artificially created calm can produce nothing but misunderstandings and confusion. It is perfectly obvious that conflict was building up, and the fact that it was not prevented is serious food for thought for representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian intelligentsia. The local authorities also failed to perform their duty because they were waiting for instructions as to what to do, how, and when.

I must respond to the reproach by V. Osipov (Leningrad) and M. Distergeft (Nizhniy Tagil): Why did the author not mention in his article the Germans deported from the Volga region? I would also add: I did not mention the Karachai, the Kurds, and some other peoples, either. This was not done with some ill intention; it was not done for the sake of gaining something. I did not see the compilation of lists as my objective: What I did was strive to awaken in readers international feelings toward all peoples in our motherland.

But how can the negative development in interethnic relations be specifically countered right now? In my view, this is accurately and clearly covered in the letter by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Ya.S. Brolish of Riga. He is worried about the small number of nonfiction books and works of fiction being published today which raise the most important moral subject: the subject of internationalism. Great Patriotic War and labor veteran P. Kalik (Baku) voices justified complaints against historians and publishers for not publishing well presented books on the history of smaller peoples. These ideas are also supported by M. Belalov from Ufa. It is impossible not to agree that knowledge of the history and culture of the USSR peoples will not only enrich young people's spiritual world but will also multiply favorable conditions for mutual respect and trust on the basis of the principles of humanitarianism and kindness.

It would be important and effective for the law to establish permanent exchanges of students between republics and national oblasts. Such international classes have already been set up under the USSR Academy of Sciences and sports committees.

Honestly speaking, despite all our ideological defects, shortcomings, and social and economic stagnation, the actual socialist idea of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, built on the principles of Marxist-Leninist internationalism and enshrined in the USSR Constitution, precludes any breeding ground for the growth of enmity, mistrust, national superiority.... The emergence of the latest tragic events forces us to admit that by no means is everything going smoothly in the delicate and extremely complex work of international communal life. Lightweight slogans have ceased to be effective. Very often, they are even counterproductive. The propaganda stereotype which had been used for decades has outlived its usefulness because it never took the individual into account but stuffed and nurtured the "cogs" with dogmas handed down from the upper levels.

"Every generation sings its own song," according to the wise and accurate folk adage. And propaganda needs its own new "tune" for every generation to reach people's minds and touch their hearts. Only thus will it be possible to expect harmony in national mutual relations and unanimity among the leaders of the party and the people.

"Yes, We Do Need One Another"—this was the headline suggested to me by reader Dm. Dazhik. And I have gratefully accepted it.

Aviation Official on Hijackings, Countermeasures
PM0407193388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
3 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with M.A. Timofeyev, USSR deputy minister of civil aviation, by own correspondent S. Mostovshchikov under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Aircraft Changing Course"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation Collegium has examined the state of affairs with regard to acts of terrorism against Aeroflot in our country, and questions

linked with preventing attempted hijackings. In this regard a TRUD correspondent met with M.A. Timofeyev, USSR deputy minister of civil aviation for operations [po rezhimu], and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Mostovshchikov] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, the term "aerial terrorism" has acquired rather "Western" overtones in our country. Probably because the information issued by Aeroflot about acts of terrorism on internal flights is rather scant. The result being that, yes, there are individual cases about which it is hard to keep quiet, but the phenomenon itself seems not to exist. I want to ask you: Does aerial terrorism exist in our country or not?

[Timofeyev] Yes it does. It has been a serious problem for many airlines since 1970. According to figures from the International Civil Aviation Authority [ICAO], 111 hijacks or acts of terrorism aboard aircraft have been recorded worldwide in the last 3 years alone—this amounts to one-third of all the crimes encountered by civil aviation in its 40-year history. Attempts to hijack wide-bodied aircraft have become frequent in recent years. And if the terrorists fail they are very cruel. As a result more than 600 people have been killed in the last 3 years alone.

That is the situation in the world. As for us, I can say that on Aeroflot's domestic flights the state of affairs is also quite complex. In the last 15 years there have been more than 50 attempts to hijack [zakhvat i ugon] aircraft in our country. Most of these were successfully stopped, and a considerable role has been played here by the actions of crews in the air and special detachments on the ground.

We sometimes also have to deal with false alarms—for instance, with anonymous phone calls. Statistics show that such calls are usually made by deranged people, but that doesn't reduce the strain on the nerves. We are entrusted with people's safety, that is why we take measures if some stranger phones to say that there's a bomb in such-and-such a place...

[Mostovshchikov] I would like to talk a little about the causes of aerial terrorism. There is an opinion that states that aircraft are hijacked because of the lack of free emigration from the country. What do you think about that?

[Timofeyev] That is more a question for sociologists. They may be able to say how the difficulties over arranging emigration, obtaining foreign currency, and so forth influence the state of society. I personally proceed on the basis that hijacking is a crime, and crime exists in countries irrespective of whether their borders are open or not. More likely the crux of the matter is in the state of society as a whole. Here is an example: The Cuban Government once announced the availability of unhindered emigration to the United States. Aircraft hijackings did not stop after that.

However, the causes of acts of terrorism against civil aviation in our country are nonetheless different from those abroad. In capitalist and developing countries attempted hijackings are mainly connected with certain individuals trying to solve their personal, criminal, political, or other problems. In our country statistics show that aerial terrorism is resorted to mainly by antisocial and criminal elements trying to seek refuge abroad in order to evade responsibility.

[Mostovshchikov] Do we have a well-oiled system for combating terrorism?

[Timofeyev] Of course we do. There are three international conventions in force: the Tokyo Convention of 1963, the Hague Convention of 1970, and the Montreal Convention of 1971. Intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in preventing illegal interference in civil aviation activities have been concluded with virtually all the European socialist countries and with countries bordering the USSR (Iran, Afghanistan, Finland, and others).

Moreover, the ICAO has drawn up measures to be taken to rule out the possibility of acts of terrorism at airports and aboard aircraft. In addition, each country is developing its own system for combating hijackers. We too have such a system.

I can say that the means at our disposal are having a definite effect. Hundreds of firearms, side arms, various munitions—grenades and explosives—and flammable liquids are confiscated each year during checks on Aeroflot passengers and their hand luggage and baggage.

However, if attempts are made to hijack aircraft in our country, this means that in certain places the system is not working properly. We do a detailed analysis of all incidents, draw conclusions, and introduce improvements.

For instance, in 1986 two armed servicemen attempted to divert a Tu-134 aircraft from Ufa to Pakistan. They failed, but the incident itself showed that flight security procedures at airports located many thousands of kilometers from the USSR border were poor. Vigilance was poor.

In 1987 the criminal Svistunov hijacked an An-2 aircraft to Sweden. Who was to blame? The negligent security guard who let Svistunov through onto the plane.

Or take the case of the Ovechkins and the Tu-154 aircraft which they planned to fly to Britain. The security control [dosmotr] services failed to find sawed-off shotguns and explosives in the double bass which the family took with them. In this connection we are working on providing security control gates with more sophisticated technical equipment.

[Mostovshchikov] I would also like to recall the Ovechkin incident, which worried many people. Do you not think that the crew should have carried out the terrorists' demands, since it was inhumane to put passengers' lives at risk for the sake of catching a bunch of bums? After all, entirely innocent people were killed and wounded...

[Timofeyev] There is no doubt that we must be guided purely by humanitarian considerations when dealing with terrorists. Neither passengers nor crew should suffer. But you can never predict how criminals will behave even if you do meet their demands. More and more often civil aviation is encountering cases when, after hijacking an aircraft, bandits continue to hold hostages, make new demands, and kill people to show that their intentions are serious. The hijacking of the Kuwaiti airliner 5 April this year is a graphic example of that.

We could agree to meet terrorists' demands if there were a clear guarantee that the criminals would be extradited. Our country, incidentally, has repeatedly proposed concluding an additional protocol to the 1970 Hague Convention on the illegal hijacking of aircraft, to contain a provision on the compulsory return of criminals to the country from which the aircraft was hijacked. We are still trying to extradite the two Brazinskas, Svistunov, and other terrorists...

True, there have also been cases when bandits were returned to us. Gilev and Pozdeyev, for instance, who hijacked an L-200 to Turkey in 1970, were returned to the USSR—at their own request, incidentally. Zasimov, who hijacked an An-2 to Iran in 1986, and Zagernyak and Sheludko, who diverted a Tu-134 to Finland in 1977, were also returned to our country. All these criminals received long terms of imprisonment.

[Mostovshchikov] But, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, as far as I am aware, even if terrorists are not extradited, they still do not evade responsibility...

[Timofeyev] That is so. I can quote examples. The Shmidt and Shuller brothers, who hijacked an An-24 to Turkey in 1982, were sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment there, and the former An-24 pilot Ailmuradov, who hijacked an aircraft to China in 1985, is serving the same sentence there. There have been instances of criminals even being sentenced to death after hijacking an aircraft.

Yet we hold the view that an objective assessment of the crime can only be made by courts in the state from which the aircraft was hijacked...

[Mostovshchikov] One final question. Can Aeroflot now completely rule out the possibility of acts of terrorism on its routes and, consequently, guarantee the security of its passengers?

[Timofeyev] I would very much like to give such a guarantee. But... life shows that hijack attempts are still being made; there are people who are prepared to engage in acts of terrorism. Security systems, as practice shows, do not always work smoothly everywhere. And our task is to improve them and strive for great efficiency. We are working in that direction.

'Hostile' Western Reporting on Perestroika.
LD0507072788 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT
5 Jul 88

[**"On West's Attempts at Discrediting Perestroika"—TASS headline**]

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—The 19th All-Union Party Conference remains one of the main foreign policy subjects in the foreign press, says the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in an article headlined "Rewriting the Old Prescriptions". Among the comments made in the West no few are critical and openly hostile. A part of them clearly prove already now to be intended as a long term basis for anti-Soviet propaganda.

The Western propagandists center on the CPSU's role and place in our society and the proposals adopted by the 19th conference for a reform of the political system. The West's propaganda centres are trying to force on us and the rest of the world their own view of the problems, which were discussed and were resolved by the conference. To that aim use is made of a broad set of propositions aimed at discrediting the political, economic and social aspects of our country's social system, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA stresses.

The British TIMES points out in clear disappointment that the conference has passed over in silence the question of a change in the one-party system and limitation of the party's powers. The essence of this stance is clear. We are speaking about the role of the party, the place of the party and about determining its functions. They are speaking about limiting, reducing and dissolving it. Also similar is the essence of the publications in the Belgian newspaper LE SOIR and the U.S. AP agency, which are also analysed in the article.

In other words, some people in the West will, as before, compare the development of our socialist democracy with the liberal multi-party bourgeois democracy, which is posed for a model to be followed. Lack of coincidence will be presented for a lack of democracy in our country. When we say more democracy, more socialist, it is absolutely apparent that we are applying that only to our realities from our ideological positions. To our political and ideological antipodes more democracy stands for less socialism. Hence that fundamental difference in the details of the time and the specific circumstances that will be the foundation of all that we'll hear from the West

(the point at issue is, certainly, only propaganda, and not the whole spectrum of free views), about our perestroika in the political field, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA says.

All of the above said concerns chiefly the official Western propaganda, which also includes right-wing conservative mass information media, which try to picture themselves to be ideologically independent. They also used the same methods in trying to discredit perestroika in the field of the economy, social priorities inter-ethnic relations and many other questions.

This does not, certainly, mean that there are no mass media in the West which really wish success to perestroika. As the British INDEPENDENT said: Not only Russia but the whole world will be better, if such reforms are implemented. It will be better and safer. And many people really understand that today, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA stresses.

Resolution on Improving Health Services
PM3006164388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution "On Measures To Further Improve Health Services for the Population and Strengthen the Material and Technical Base of Health Care."

In accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Basic Guidelines for the Development of Health Services for the Population and the Restructuring of Health Care in the USSR in the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Period Through the Year 2000, the resolution instructs union republic communist party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary organizations, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, local soviet ispolkoms, the USSR Ministry of Health, and ministries and departments to implement large-scale measures to prevent diseases and to ensure the full satisfaction everywhere of the population's requirements for high-quality medical and pharmaceutical services.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers make it incumbent on union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, obispolkoms, ministries, departments, and public organizations to ensure the implementation of territorial and sectoral comprehensive "Health" programs, to elaborate measures to bring working and training conditions at enterprises, organizations, and educational establishments in line with sanitary rules and regulations and labor safety requirements in 1988-1990, giving priority attention to the withdrawal of women from unsuitable working conditions, and to ensure that these measures

are implemented by the year 2000. The task has been set of achieving in the 12th-13th 5-Year Plans a 10-15-percent reduction in the sickness rate involving workers' and employees' temporary incapacity for work.

It is envisaged elaborating and approving specific plans for the construction of purification installations and the establishment of protective sanitary zones around enterprises. If it proves impossible to eliminate the harmful effect of these enterprises on the environment, it is proposed to set dates for their closure or their removal from populated areas.

The competent ministries and departments are instructed to step up their work in the health education of the population, in advertising sensible nutrition and disease prevention, and the eradication of smoking, alcohol, and drug abuse, and other habits harmful to health.

The USSR Ministry of Health and union republic councils of ministers are instructed, with the assistance of the AUCCTU and ministries and departments, to ensure the phased introduction by 1995 of annual health screening of the country's entire population. Heads of associations, enterprises, and organizations are obliged, together with trade unions and other public organizations, to give practical assistance to the health care authorities in providing health screening and enhancing the working people's standard of health.

Union republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms are instructed to organize as of 1989 economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] services and cooperatives for the treatment of patients, supply of medicines, and provision of other additional services at medical treatment and prevention centers.

It is planned to set up sanatorium-type preschool establishments (groups) for weak and sickly children, to provide all children requiring sanatorium or spa treatment with this service, and to permit, where necessary, the hospitalization of children under the age of 3 together with one of the parents.

The USSR Gosagroprom is instructed to organize a "Child Nutrition" science-and-production association in 1989. Targets for 1989-1995 have been set in the development and production of special diet foods for children.

It has been recognized as necessary to grant 70 calendar days of predelivery maternity leave to working women as from 1 September 1990.

In order to improve medical services for workers in industry, transportation, construction, communications, and the agro-industrial complex, members of their families, and war and labor veterans, associations, enterprises, and organizations are advised to establish medical and health care units and sanatoriums and health

centers on a broader scale, including their construction on a shared basis with other associations, enterprises, organizations, and local soviet ispolkoms.

Agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations and consumer cooperatives are instructed to carry out (with the agreement of labor collectives) the construction, reconstruction, and capital overhauls of medical, health, and pharmaceutical establishments in rural areas, including rayon centers, and to provide technical servicing for these establishments and maintenance and repair services for their transportation facilities.

The network of hospitals and hospital departments (wards) for those Patriotic War invalids is to be expanded in 1990-1995. At the same time it is planned to improve the material and technical base of existing establishments of this type. These establishments will also provide medical services for war participants and people of a similar benefit status to that of war invalids.

Specific measures have been outlined to further develop and improve cardiological, oncological, heart-surgery, and other types of specialized medical services and the diagnosis and treatment of AIDS patients.

Targets for the construction and commissioning in 1989-1995 of psychiatric hospitals, drug addiction clinics, specialized enterprises (shops, sections) for the labor training and job placement of disabled people and mental patients, economically accountable drug-addiction consultation centers, and clinics providing medical services for patients suffering from alcoholism, drug addiction, and the effects of toxic substance abuse.

With a view to improving the system of vocational guidance and training of medical cadres, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to expand the training of general education school pupils at interschool medical profile training-and-production combines in 1989-1990.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers make it incumbent on the USSR Ministry of Health and union republic councils of ministers to adopt resolute measures to eliminate such negative phenomena as callousness, indifference, rudeness, bureaucracy, and extortion at medical care establishments. Instructions have been issued to draw up proposals to amend legislation pertaining to the rights of medical and pharmaceutical workers, their obligations, and responsibility for violations of their professional duty.

With a view to providing incentives for medical and other health service workers it has been deemed necessary to institute the honorary title "Union Republic Meritorious Health Service Worker."

The USSR Ministry of Health, union republic councils of ministers, and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences are instructed to organize associations embracing medical research institutes, VUZ's, and major hospitals, and to set up a range of specialized departments on the basis of scientific research establishments. The responsibility of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, scientific research institutes, and medical VUZ departments for the application of the results of scientific research is being increased. The Academy is being entrusted with the planning, forecasting, and expert assessment of scientific work, and the coordination of cooperation with the USSR Academy of Sciences, union republic academies of sciences, and research establishments in other national economic sectors.

Local soviets, ministries, and departments are instructed to adopt measures to improve the working, living, and leisure conditions of medical and pharmaceutical workers and members of their families. In 1988-1990 it is planned to organize the provision of hot food for cash payment for the staff at medical establishments and health centers and also the provision of additional food for payment to be made available to patients.

With a view to the further development and strengthening of the material and technical base of the health service it is planned in 1989-1995 to build and commission out-patient polyclinics with a capacity of 1 million consultations per shift, hospitals and clinics with 500,000 beds, child centers with 4,400 places, and children's sanatoriums with 41,000 beds. Targets have been set for the construction of premises and laboratory blocs for scientific establishments, epidemiological stations, pharmacies and pharmaceuticals storage facilities, teaching and laboratory blocs for higher and secondary medical and pharmaceutical educational establishments, medical further-training institutes, and hostels and canteens for pupils, students, and postgraduate students; and also for the reconstruction of hospitals, polyclinics, and blood transfusion stations.

The USSR Housing and Social Development Bank has been instructed, as of 1989, to provide credits to health service organs for the construction of economically accountable health care establishments. Standard and individual health care establishment designs are to be revised and the rates of appropriations for equipping these establishments with modern medical equipment and for capital repairs are to be considerably increased.

It is planned in 1989 to hand over boiler houses, laundries, and internal and external water, power, and heat supply systems servicing health care establishments for management by the relevant organizations and enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have instructed the USSR Gosplan and ministries and departments to include in the state order the

USSR Health Ministry's requirements for the production and delivery of essential medicines and most important types of medical equipment and medical goods. The 1989-1995 targets for the provision of medicines and medical goods for the health service have been set.

It is planned to increase as of 1 January 1991 the rate of expenditure of health care establishments for the acquisition of medicines, dressings, linen and bedding, and for food also as of 1 January 1992. It is planned to improve the supplies of apparatus, special and operational [khoz-yaystvennyy] equipment, furniture, fittings, and requisites for the care of the sick.

An AUCCTU proposal to channel part of the means saved annually as a result of the reduction of people's temporary incapacity for work into financing measures aimed at the development of the health services has been accepted.

Labor collectives of associations, enterprises, and organizations are advised to use part of the economic incentives funds to increase expenditure for the acquisition of medicines, dressings, linen and bedding, and equipment at health care establishments which provide services for their labor force.

Health care establishment directors are authorized as of 1989 to approve the staffing of their establishments within the limits of the set wage fund and their estimated expenditure within the limits of the appropriations for running costs, and to introduce changes into this estimate with the exception of expenditure for wages, food, and medicines.

Viewing care for people's health as one of the most important social tasks, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers are confident that party and soviet organs, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, ministries and departments, and all health care workers will adopt the measures necessary to ensure the successful implementation of party and Government decisions on questions of health services for Soviet people, the further development of national health care and medical science, and a radical improvement of the quality and standard of medical assistance to the population.

Krasnodar Poll Reveals Attitudes on Perestroika

OW3006144888 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0635 GMT on 23 June 88 carries the scheduled "We Learn Democracy" program, devoted to the poll held among Communists of Krasnodar Kray by the CPSU Academy of Social Sciences. As video shows scenes of Krasnodar City, a narrator talks about the poll results and introduces the discussion of these results by Kraykom Secretary B.G. Kibirev, then by scientists of the academy, and then by the meeting of kraykom secretaries of Krasnodar Kray.

Alternating with these scenes of the general discussion, screen captions show some results of the poll: "25 percent of those polled noted positive influence of glasnost on their own social activity"; "84 percent consider that the changes for the better are manifested in moods and words, but find little expression in deeds"; "30 percent believe that glasnost increases one's power and confidence"; "98 percent approve perestroika"; also, a majority of those polled believe that "zones inaccessible for glasnost still exist."

The program is concluded by Antonovich, deputy director of the CPSU Academy of Social Sciences, who says that the results of the poll are a subject for further analysis.

16 Hospitalized After Toxic Gas Discharge

LD0607115788 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—A major disaster has been prevented at the railway station of the small town of Shakhunya (middle reaches of the Volga) due to the selflessness of the workers, equanimity and a high degree of organization of the town authorities, noted Anatoliy Russkikh, first secretary of the bureau of the Shahuniya district party committee. His interview has been published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA today.

On Sunday night toxic gases leaked out of one of the freight carriages in Shahuniya station as a result of the chemical reaction of herbicide sodium trichloroacetate sodium.

"It was half past twelve in the night," Anatoliy Russkikh said, "that a column of gas escaped from under a hatch cover knocked out by high pressure. Immediately fire-fighters, militia and other services rose in answer to the alarm signal. The carriage was taken aside from the train. Yet, despite all the efforts, a gas cloud began steadily moving towards the town lying in low valley. It was decided to start the evacuation of the population, which began half an hour later. Roughly by ten o'clock in the morning the chemical reaction in the carriage was stopped, the slags were buried at a greater depth in a faraway quarry.

Nobody was seriously hurt, two fire-fighters suffered insignificant burns of the palms of their hands. Sixteen persons were taken to hospital. Yet medical examination has shown that the health troubles were only an outward coincidence of the symptoms caused not by intoxication, but by other diseases.

The causes of the incident are being studied.

Economic

Higher Proportion of Consumption Needed

PM2906085588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Production for Consumption"]

[Text] A recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet noted that in the last 2 years growth in the output of Group "A" products in industry has outstripped growth in the output of Group "B" products by a factor of 1.2, despite the fact that the reverse was planned. The shortfall has become chronic. In the first 2 years of the 5-year period the population was short of goods worth R22 billion and paid services to the tune of R4.5 billion.

In terms of per capita consumption of many types of goods and services our country, to put it mildly, is not at the top of the list on a world scale. The shortage of goods and services has become chronic. The consumers suffer, and the state does not have such an easy time of it either: The excess of money supply over available goods and unsatisfied demand are a source of inflation.

So where does the answer lie?

We had pinned great hopes on the new economic management conditions in light industry to which the sector made the transition in January last year. After all, it accounts for 45 percent of non-comesibles. Unfortunately, these hopes have still to be justified. Last year the sector failed to supply customers with goods worth R1.5 billion. And in the first 4 months of this year enterprises under the union ministry alone increased these arrears by a further R200 million. All in all, according to specialists, unsatisfied demand for light industry goods now stands at R8 billion (in 1986 it was R2.2 billion and in 1987—R6.4 billion).

So, the arrears are increasing rather than decreasing. In addition to this, many enterprises in the sector (let me remind you of economic accountability!) are finding themselves in a terrible financial situation. Last year fines for failing to honor contract pledges reached almost R900 million. On top of this, fines for poor production quality reached R170 million. In just 1 year the number of loss-making enterprises has increased by a factor of 1.5 and the total sum of their losses now stands at R221 million.

Vigorous measures are now being taken to retool the sector. However—again, in line with specialist forecasts—we will not be able to fully supply light industry with Soviet-made equipment and stop buying it abroad before 1995....

So perhaps we should be pinning our hopes on cooperatives? Yes, sections selling goods produced by cooperatives and individual manufacturers have recently

appeared in many department stores all over the country. But at present the proportion of goods produced in this sector is extremely small. Last year they accounted for only 0.3 percent of the total commodity output. On 1 April this year 4,257 cooperatives were engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods. A drop in the ocean....

It seems that at the moment we cannot seriously count on either economic accountability or the cooperative movement in this matter. The answer lies elsewhere. There have to be far-reaching structural changes in the economy: a change in the ratio of development of the "A" and "B" groups, corresponding changes in investment policy, and new proportions in the distribution of the national income between consumption and accumulation funds.

Let us take a look at some general figures. In 1971-1985 growth in Group "A" industrial output reached R323.5 billion, whereas growth in output in Group "B" (in comparable form) amounted to only R102.5 billion. Moreover, the rate of growth in means of production outstripped the rate of consumer goods output by an average of 19 percent! With every year more and more Group "A" output is used per ruble of manufactured goods. Or, in other words, the development of means of production has failed to produce the necessary results....

Here is just one example. According to data provided by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, in 1987 a total of 15.4 percent of time lost with serviceable general purpose trucks was due to a shortage of drivers. And on holidays and days off this indicator shot up to 74.8 percent! You wonder why we bother to produce tractors and trucks if there is no one to drive them.

Large, quite unjustified improvements in the manufacture of means of production has meant that acceleration in the pace of economic development and growth in the national income have not led to an improvement in the people's living standards in the same proportions.

At the same time enormous material valuables have been frozen. Judge for yourselves. According to figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics for the end of 1987, equipment, instruments, and stock worth R1.1 billion were frozen in above-norm uncompleted construction projects. Construction and assembly work worth R5.5 billion has remained uncompleted, despite the fact that materials and structures costing more than R4 billion have already been used.

But even this is not the most amazing feature. Our planning bodies have been sufficiently realistic in their assessment of the situation and tried to change the proportions in the development of means of production and consumer goods in the current 5-year plan. However, as I have already pointed out, we have not succeeded in solving this task in the last 2 years. Group "A" is being disobedient and continuing to grow at a rapid pace by working for itself! In 1986, for example, its

production output increased by 5.3 percent whereas Group "B" only increased its output by 3.9 percent. The plan for 1987 envisaged a growth of 3.3 and 5.1 percent respectively (over and above the level reached the previous year). In fact the result was 3.8 percent in both groups....

"Failure to meet targets for the preferential growth of consumer goods production is particularly intolerable," the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference state. "...The commodity-money imbalance and state budget deficit are having a negative impact on current output and the pace of the reform itself."

I am sure that the conference will devote paramount attention to these questions. The discrepancy between our requirements and our actual consumption is the most urgent, the most serious, and most complex problem in the socioeconomic sphere.

Economist Aganbegyan Interviewed on Reform
AU2906172688 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Jun 88 p 1, 5

[Interview with Professor Abel Aganbegyan, Soviet economist, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY Moscow correspondent Henryk Chadzynski in Moscow: "There Will Not Be Another Chance"; date not given]

[Text] [Chadzynski] What does it feel like to be an adviser at a time when the authorities are saying that they want to listen to the opinions of economists? What is the mechanism for conveying their postulates and remarks? And to what extent are the ideas of advisers actually implemented? Can you say that you are satisfied with your role as an expert?

[Aganbegyan] The attitude of the authorities toward the sciences, and I mean the economic sciences, has changed significantly. There are even organizational ways for introducing science to practice. We know that a special commission headed by a deputy premier and the chairman of Gosplan is in charge of the economic reform. Apart from heads of ministries and offices, for example the finance minister, chairman of the Supply Committee, and chairman of the Academy of Sciences, the commission also consists of economists, who have full voting rights. There is also a section of scholars, of which I am head. We meet every week to discuss the most urgent and important issues, and then present our conclusions at plenary sessions of the commission. I am discussing this in detail in order to show how we operate.

[Chadzynski] But how effective is your work?

[Aganbegyan] It varies. The paths of science do not always coincide with those of practice. As we know, decisions are collective. Clashes of opinion are frequent, and ours does not always prevail. We opposed certain moves, for example drastic progressive taxation on the

personal incomes of the managers of cooperatives. Distinguished scientists criticized this in the press. Fortunately, the Supreme Soviet did not approve of the government proposal, and enabled the government to withdraw gracefully. This was something without precedent in our work, showing that there was a high degree of restructuring even in the upper echelons of authority.

We also waged a struggle for a proper understanding of government contracts. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic interpretation thereof was adopted. As of 1989, there will be fundamental changes brought about by criticism, but this year has already been wasted. As you can see, one cannot always talk of success. Changes do not come about easily, and victory occurs as a result of a clash of opinions. Apart from that, economists themselves are not always unanimous. It is not without reason that people say that when there are two economists, there are three points of view.

But to answer your question about satisfaction, I can say that the work is very difficult, but thanks to it life is much more interesting, even though one really lives in a tense state and even has to work on a Sunday. But we realize that the economic reform is a necessity and that we are participating in a process that is not a question of good will or free choice, but a vital requirement.

[Chadzynski] From this point of view, how can one assess the struggle for reform when not all the new mechanisms are in operation or when just the name of the mechanism is changed but the content remains the same?

[Aganbegyan] The reform is a process, not a one-time act. It is also a very complicated process, subject to various stimuli but also many obstacles, not all of which are foreseeable. A series of conditions has to be met before the new mechanisms can function. That is why right now we are in a stage of gradual preparations, of an expansion of the platform on which the new mechanisms are to operate. For the reform will not be fully operational until the next 5-year period.

Hard work awaits us during this preparatory stage. A work program and schedule is already being prepared. The principle of self-financing and accountability will be extended to the remaining 40 percent of the economy. There will be a price reform, first wholesale prices, then retail prices, and new economic norms will be set. In this way, by means of a correct distribution of profits, real self-financing will become possible, and the development possibilities of enterprises and the motivation of their work forces and managements will be dependent on their financial results.

Incentive caused by the advantages brought about by economic results will increase from one year to the next. The role and number of government contracts will increase. Wholesale trade will receive greater supplies of materials. There will also be an enhanced banking

reform, and we will proceed further toward such organizational forms as joint-stock companies. Finally, a serious effort will have to be made in order to gradually lead to the convertibility of the ruble.

[Chadzynski] Society feels that the success of the reform depends on how it improves the market situation and the standard of living. Considering that the reform is only just beginning, when can one expect results in the shape of better supplies of goods and services, which would create a great number of supporters for the economic reform?

[Aganbegyan] If the emergency measures designed to heal the economy succeed, and a special program is being drafted for this purpose, then I think that in 2 or 3 years every Soviet family should feel a favorable change. I think the present conditions are propitious for this. The most difficult period is already over, and we have passed what one can call the critical point, also as far as the foreign market is concerned. We will be able to buy more market goods abroad. The state will no longer restrict liquor sales by administrative means, which used to cause additional holes in the budget.

A lot also depends on agriculture. A Central Committee plenum devoted to various types of agriculture will serve to propagate modern forms of this. Procurement prices will be reformed, and all this should increase agriculture's incentive to use all its reserves.

But I do realize the extent of all the unsatisfied needs, which are growing all the time.

[Chadzynski] Articles and the discussions preceding the party conference indicate the need to struggle for the reform, for the practical implementation of its principles. What is the main brake acting on this?

[Aganbegyan] I can put it very concisely—strength and nerves. However, I apply this concept in a broad sense. We have an old economic structure, outdated management mechanisms, and, of course, inertia and bureaucracy, not to mention old habits. But I do not want to indicate differences, because all these qualities are also inside us. I myself often talk about the reform, the new mechanisms, and the need for progress and a new approach, but as soon as I arrive at work as director of a scientific institution, I adopt traditional habits. We have still not restructured ourselves, as Mikhail Gorbachev has said. Each of us is in the process of perestroika. And that is the most difficult matter.

[Chadzynski] Nikolay Shmyelov presents a different diagnosis in NOVIY MIR, considering the chief obstacle to be forces whose interests make them intent on preserving the status quo.

[Aganbegyan] Nikolay Shmyelov is a writer with a rich command of language. It is a pleasure to read him. That does not mean he is a good economist, however. One

cannot agree with everything he says. For example, he suggests that the market may be improved more quickly by obtaining credits. And yet the experience of other countries shows that this is a very dangerous road. I myself believe it would be very risky to promise something without making any effort toward it, without working for it.

The best course is to present the matter plainly to people. What we expect from them and what they themselves can expect. So we have to create the conditions for them to achieve this goal through their own efficient work. The reform does provide these conditions.

[Chadzynski] One often hears that the possibilities of increasing production are very considerable provided that the many reserves still inherent in the economy are employed correctly.

[Aganbegyan] That is true, but nevertheless it contains a simplification. It is undoubtedly true that there are many reserves. I agree that we can make better use of the economy's potential and increase output by about 30 percent. But a straightforward across-the-board increase in production is no longer enough. For example, why should we have to have more steel, coal, oil, and electricity all the time? What is important today are new spheres which we call knowledge-intensive and research-intensive and which are causing an economic revolution.

It is also important to restructure industry in order to make better use of available supplies. However, all this requires considerable outlay.

We do not wish to increase the production of goods for the needs of industrial branches. What is important is to increase the production of whatever serves the consumer directly and solves the problem of the social sphere.

In fact, the economic compulsion created by the economic reform will encourage faster structural changes and a better use of existing possibilities. There is no alternative. This is a great breakthrough and a long process, and we have to realize that we are still at the beginning of the road. And we have to travel this road, even though it is uneven. For there will not be another chance like this.

Scientific

Phobos Probes To Be Launched 7, 12 Jul
LD0407142588 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT
4 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—Preparations are being completed at the Baykonur Cosmodrome for space missions which are to take two Soviet unmanned probes to the Martian moon Phobos, a leading Soviet space scientist told reporters today.

Vyacheslav Balebanov, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Space Research, said Phobos-1 takes off July 7 and Phobos-2 July 12.

Apart from detailed investigations of Mars and its moon, they are to study the sun and interplanetary space.

The probes will carry instruments developed by experts from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Poland, the USSR, Finland, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency.

The United States will take part in tracking the probes from the ground.

The scientific interest in Phobos is explained by scientists believing that it is a former asteroid captured by Martian gravitational fields.

Studying the matter from which small celestial bodies are made helps substantially expand knowledge about the evolution of the solar system, Balebanov explained.

The probes will reach Phobos next April. After descending to as few as 50 meters above its surface, they will drift over it.

Besides television scanning, radio sounding and other traditional methods of surveying, they will employ lasers to evaporate tiny amounts of Phobos soil so as to study it by their instruments from a distance.

On top of this, the Probes will drop long-term stationary landers and hoppers on the surface of the Martian moon.

Launch Times Noted

LD0507082588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0104 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Excerpt] The first Soviet automatic interplanetary station "Phobos" blasts off from the Baykonur Cosmodrome on 7 July at 2138 Moscow time [1738 GMT]. Five days later, it will be followed toward Mars by "Phobos-2." Journalists were told this at a news conference held on 4 July at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. [passage omitted]

Leonov Discusses Mission

LD0607081588 Moscow TASS in English 0758 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The Phobos international space exploration project is an important step towards a manned flight to Mars, Soviet Cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov believes.

General Leonov is the deputy head of the Gagarin Cosmonauts' Training Centre near Moscow. He was the first of the earth residents to make a space walkout in 1965. He took part in July 1975 in a joint Soviet-American space flight within the framework of the Soyuz-Apollo program.

"Perhaps, we shall be able to unravel some mysteries of that planet", Leonov said in a TASS interview. "The launching of the first Soviet spacecraft of a new modification under the Phobos international project is scheduled for next Thursday. The second Soviet interplanetary spacecraft will be launched on July 12. This major international multipurpose project will be realized in the course of 1988-1989. The program provides for the study of Phobos, a satellite of Mars by whose name the project is called, Mars itself, the sun and interplanetary space".

Together with Soviet scientists, specialists from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Ireland, Poland, Finland, France, West Germany, the U.S., Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency are taking part in the development of the research program, the creation of sophisticated equipment and the conducting of experiments.

"In my opinion, the dropping of landing vehicles to Phobos is one of the interesting moments of the program. The vehicles will move by the surface of Phobos. According to the plan, they will make research measurements and will transmit the information they obtain by a radio channel to the orbiter. In this way information will be achieved for the first time about the structure of surface layers, the chemical and mineralogical composition of Phobos. The project is a logical development of the Soviet program of Mars exploration that was started about a quarter of a century ago", Leonov pointed out.

'Okean' Research Satellite Launched 5 Jul

LD0507161088 Moscow TASS In English 1608 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—An artificial earth satellite, "Okean" was launched by a booster rocket "Tsiklon" (Cyclone) in the Soviet Union today. The main purpose of the launching is to receive oceanographic information and data on ice condition in the interests of various branches of the USSR national economy and international cooperation.

The Sputnik was put in an orbit with the following parameters: The maximum distance from the earth's surface—680 km, the minimum distance—651 km, inclination of the orbit—82.5 degrees, the initial period of revolution—97.8 minutes.

Complexes of scanning, optical, mechanical and radio-physical equipment have been installed on board the satellite.

Information from the satellite is transmitted to the State Research Centre for the Study of the Natural Resources and to points for the reception of information of the USSR State Hydrometeorological Committee to be processed and circulated.

Joint Aerospace Experiment Launched in Kursk
LD0307085988 Moscow World Service in English
0700 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Text] Experts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union have launched a joint aerospace experiment in the Kursk region, south of Moscow. The purpose of the experiment is to use pictures taken from orbit in assessing agricultural crops on various soil sections. American experts are to join the experiment later.

Military

Explosion at Military Unit in Khabarovsk
LD0207075288 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT
2 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—An explosion took place in the area of deployment of an anti-aircraft unit near Khabarovsk late at night on June 29, the newspaper IZVESTIYA reports today. No casualties are reported.

I. Kudrov, deputy chairman of the regional party committee and head of an emergency commission for eliminating the consequences of the accident, said that glass windows had been blown out in about 200 houses in a residential area of Khabarovsk, window frames and inner sashes had been damaged, shop windows had been broken in 38 shops. Apart from it, 14 kindergartens, two hospitals and 16 schools were damaged.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, told an IZVESTIYA correspondent in Moscow: "It is true that an explosion took place eight kilometres south of Khabarovsk. Some eight tons of trinitrotoluene kept in military warehouses blew up. There are no casualties, but some people were wounded. Most of them were cut by the glass blown out of windows by a blast. No serious damage was reported. At present army units and the local population are eliminating the consequences of the accident. Window-panes are being put in, minor repair work is being done".

A commission of the USSR Ministry of Defense was set up for investigating into the causes of the accident. The commission has started working already.

Lizichev on Restructuring in Armed Forces
AU2906161788 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian
28 Jun 88 pp 1,4

[Interview with Army General Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, by NARODNA ARMIYA representative: "Time for Revolutionary Restructuring"; date and place not given]

[Text] [NARODNA ARMIYA] What is the essence and meaning of the restructuring in the USSR Armed Forces?

[Lizichev] It lies mainly in further improving the Armed Forces, and the effectiveness of this improvement must mainly be ensured by quality parameters with regard to both equipment and personnel. In the Armed Forces, like everywhere else in the country, specific measures are being drawn up to create a sufficiently flexible and reliable mechanism of renewal.

We associate the process of renewal in all spheres of army and navy life with democratization and with involving the broad range of public opinion in the Army and Navy in this renewal. Here we have set ourselves the task of increasing the social orientation of the work of the military cadres, vigorously introducing the achievements of military science into the training process, and constantly strengthening the soldiers' discipline. The restructuring in the Army displays and consolidates the best spiritual qualities of the young man and promotes in him a sense of responsibility for the task assigned to him—regarding the weapons entrusted to him, their intelligent and accident-free operation, correct attitudes in the Army collective, and devotion to his soldier's duty.

In the Army and Navy, as in the whole of society, a fundamentally new political and moral atmosphere is being created, which enables us to view the prospects for the development of restructuring with optimism.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] How does restructuring manifest itself in the practical work of the commanders, political organs, staffs, and personnel?

[Lizichev] If we are to dwell on the main features, we must point out that improvements have been made in the performance of combat duties and troop and naval training; there is an increased level of readiness to carry out the tasks in defending the state interests of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact member countries, in conformity with the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine. Here it is important to emphasize that the personnel is studying military skills with great dedication and responsibility.

I will give you a typical example. A short time ago an inspectorate of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR made an inspection of the Belorussian Military District. They noted that the standard of training of the troops was higher, the training process was more organized, and discipline was high in most of the soldiers' collectives.

There are other examples as well. They are particularly apparent in units that initiate socialist emulation in the Armed Forces, such as the missile regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Ulyanov, the motor rifle regiment commanded by Colonel Yuriy Pakhomov, the anti-aircraft missile regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Soshko, the heavy bomber regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Maskayev, and the nuclear missile submarine commanded by Captain First Rank Eduard Rybakov. Here the achievements of restructuring are revealed in the full use made of every minute of training and in the active efforts to eliminate weaknesses and oversimplification in combat training.

However, I would point out that the mechanism that retards restructuring in the Army and Navy has not been fully overcome. Certain officers are not coming to grips with shortcomings in combat training, and still not all officers everywhere have merged the theoretical, methodological, and practical sides of their activities into a uniform, integral process.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] What ways are used to create a reliable, flexible mechanism for increasing the social activity of the soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, and officers? What new forms and methods of work with the young soldiers have developed in the course of restructuring?

[Lizichev] The main way to increase servicemen's activity consists of developing democratic principles in close interrelationship with strengthening military discipline. The commanders, political organs, staffs, and party organizations must get closer to people—to their worries and needs, interest them in the end results of combat training, stir their hearts, and liberate their minds. If a man is strong in his convictions and knowledge and is morally firm, he will withstand any gales.

The ideological, political, and military training of the cadres is entirely aimed at stimulating their sense of initiative and responsibility and overcoming passive attitudes, lack of independent thinking, outdated approaches, and the bureaucratic style of leadership.

I made a visit to the motor rifle regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Valentin Chichko. This, of course, is a just one individual example, but all the changes made by us are mirrored in it. There the party committee is gathering together all the new elements that are appearing in the field of democratization of society and is creating an atmosphere that directly favors development of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and enrichment

of the intellectual life of the detachments. Discussions are held in the regiment on topical problems of the country's domestic life and on international issues, and every soldier is drawn in to take part in social life. I will mention just one result of this: Almost 70 percent of the soldiers and noncommissioned officers are members of social organizations.

In the Army and Navy as a whole, more discussions have been held on the problems of the life of the country and the Armed Forces, restructuring, democratization, and the history of the party and the country. Various collective forms of participation by soldiers and noncommissioned officers in solving pressing problems relating to Army service and improving social and everyday conditions are becoming widespread. For example, in a number of military districts the process of "accelerating the soldiers' development" has been adopted. The essence of this unusual form of increasing the responsibility of servicemen on fixed periods of service is that the strong help the weak, that complete interchangeability is ensured in detachments, crews, and units, and that specific indicators are drawn up for the period and the year—every soldier is expected to master at least two closely associated professional skills.

The so-called direct line between the leading cadres and the troops in their units is being well received. Here the Army newspaper serves as an intermediary, by reporting the times at which the leading personnel are free to exchange views and giving their telephone numbers. All suggestions, statements, and complaints by servicemen are promptly dealt with.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] How do you evaluate the results of the Moscow summit? How are the actions of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries in the disarmament sphere affecting the content of ideological-political work among the troops and their moral-psychological training?

[Lizichev] The meeting made a major contribution to strengthening the peace and security among the peoples, and provided a fine impetus for the development of Soviet-American relations.

Under these conditions, ideological-political work must develop the readiness of the personnel to defend the countries of socialism and orient the soldiers toward maintaining great alertness and combat readiness, while taking into account the military-political realities in the world.